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her Husband Lord Guilford Dudley.*

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*Published as the Act directs. 1 July 1774 by J. Johnson, S. Pauls Ch. Yard.*



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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
ENGLAND,  
FROM THE  
INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR,  
TO THE  
DISSOLUTION of the Present PARLIAMENT.  
ADORNED WITH PLATES.  
IN FOURTEEN VOLUMES.

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By JOSEPH COLLYER,  
Author of the NEW SYSTEM OF GEOGRAPHY,  
in Two Volumes Folio.

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VOL. VII.

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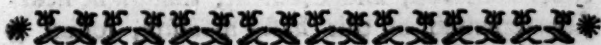
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T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F  
E N G L A N D.



H E N R Y VIII.



HE bishop of Paris was then sent to London, and obtained a promise from Henry, that he would submit his cause to the Roman consistory, provided the cardinals of the Imperial faction were excluded. The prelate returned with this verbal promise to Rome, and the pope agreed, that the king's demand should be fully complied with, on condition of his signing a written agreement to the same purpose. A day was appointed for the return of the mes-

#### 4 THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

sengers; and all Europe considered the threatened rupture between England and the church of Rome, as drawing towards an amicable conclusion. But the courier, who was to have brought the king's written promise, was detained beyond the appointed day. In the mean while news was brought to Rome, that a libel against that court had been published in England; and a farce in derision of the pope and cardinals acted before the king. Hence the pope and cardinals entered the consistory, enflamed with anger; and by a precipitate sentence, passed on the 23d of March 1534, pronounced the marriage of Henry and Catharine valid, and declared Henry excommunicated, if he refused to adhere to it. Two days after the courier arrived, and Clement, though he heartily repented of this hasty measure, found it would be difficult for him to retract it.

However, Henry, who was of an impetuous and obstinate temper, after having proceeded so far in throwing off the papal yoke, would, probably, have never been brought to submit tamely to it. During some years, care had been taken to teach the nation, that a general council was much superior to the pope; and now a bishop preached every Sunday at Paul's Cross, to convince the people, that the pope was entitled to no authority beyond the bounds of his diocese.

The parliament this session passed several laws destructive of the papal authority. All payments made to the apostolic chamber, with all bulls and dispensations, were abolished,

ed. Monasteries were rendered subject to the visitation and government of the king alone : the law for punishing heretics was moderated ; and it was declared, that there was no heresy in speaking against the pope's authority : bishops were to be appointed by a *congé d'elire* from the crown ; or in case of the dean and chapter's refusal, by letters patent ; and no recourse to be had to Rome for palls, bulls, or provisions ; and a submission exacted two years before, with great difficulty, from the clergy, now received the sanction of parliament. The clergy in this submission acknowledged, that convocations ought to be assembled by the king's authority alone ; they promised to enact no new canons without his consent ; and agreed to his appointing thirty-two commissioners to examine the old canons, and abrogate those that were found prejudicial to the royal prerogative. An appeal was also allowed from the bishops court to the king in chancery. The crown was appointed to descend to the issue of queen Anne, whose marriage was now established, and confirmed by this parliament. Henry's resentment against queen Catharine, on account of her obstinacy, was the reason of his excluding her daughter Mary from all hopes of succeeding to the crown.

Henry found his ecclesiastical subjects as compliant as the laity. The convocation voted, that the bishop of Rome had, by the law of God, no more jurisdiction in England than any other foreign bishop ; and that the authority exercised here, by him and his predecessors,

## 6 THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

sors, was only by usurpation, and the sufferance of English princes. Only four persons opposed this vote in the lower house, and one doubted: but in the upper, it passed unanimously. The bishops extended their complaisance so far, that they took out new commissions from the crown, in which all their spiritual and episcopal authority was expressly affirmed to be ultimately derived from the civil magistrate.

Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, were the only persons of distinction, that entertained scruples with respect to the oath relating to the succession; and as the latter had an extraordinary reputation for virtue and integrity, great pains were taken to convince him of the lawfulness of that oath. Cranmer, the primate, and Cromwell, who was now secretary of state, and loved and esteemed More, entreated him to lay aside his scruples, and their friendly importunity appeared to have a greater weight with him, than all the penalties that attended his refusal. He, however, persisted to maintain his resolution in a mild, though firm manner; and Henry being irritated against both him and Fisher, ordered them to be indicted upon the statute, and committed to the Tower.

On the 3d of November 1534, the parliament conferred on the king the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England; with power "to visit and repress, redress, order, correct, restrain, or amend all errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities,"

"mities, which fell under any spiritual authority or jurisdiction." They attainted More and Fisher for misprision of treason, and completed the union of England and Wales, by granting the benefit of the English laws to that principality.

While the king proceeded with such order and tranquility in changing the ancient religion, the state of affairs in Scotland and Ireland gave him some inquietude. In Scotland, the earl of Angus having got the person of the king, who was then in early youth, in his possession, was able, by that advantage and the power of his own family, to hold the reins of government. He, however, suffered great disturbance from the queen dowager, his consort, who, from jealousy and disgust, had parted from him, and having procured a divorce, married a nobleman of the name of Stuart, after which she joined all the discontented nobility, who opposed the authority of her former husband. James, the young king, dissatisfied with the slavery to which he was reduced, secretly excited first Walter Scot, and then the earl of Lenox, to attempt to deliver him out of the hands of Angus, by force of arms; and both these enterprizes proving unsuccessful, he at last escaped to Stirling, where his mother then resided; and summoning all the nobility to attend him, subverted the authority of the Douglasses, and obliged Angus and his brother to fly to England, and seek Henry's protection. James being now arrived at years of maturity, assumed the reins of government; and



## THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

and with great spirit and bravery, employed himself in repressing the feuds, ravages, and disorders, which disturbed the course of public justice.

The duke of Richmond, the king's natural son, was lord lieutenant of Ireland, and under him was the earl of Kildare, who had the title of deputy. The latter being accused of committing some acts of violence against the family of Ossory, his hereditary enemies, was summoned to answer for his conduct. He left his authority in the hands of his son, who, on hearing that his father was imprisoned, and in danger of his life, took arms, and joining O Neale, O Carroll, and others of the Irish nobility, ravaged the country, murdered Allen, archbishop of Dublin, and besieged that city. In the mean while Kildare died in prison, and his son applying to the Emperor Charles V. received promises of assistance. The king sent some forces into Ireland, and these so harraided the rebels, that young Kildare, finding the emperor backward in performing his promises, was obliged to surrender himself prisoner to lord Leonard Gray, the new deputy, the marquis of Dorset's brother. He was brought to England with his five uncles, and after being tried and convicted, they were all of them publicly executed.

No European prince was now possessed of such absolute authority as Henry; not even the pope himself, who, in his own capital, united both the civil and ecclesiastical powers. He had early published his sentiments against Luther,

Luther, and had received infinite applause for his performance, from his courtiers and the clergy. Elated by his imaginary success, and stimulated by his arrogance and obstinacy of temper, he received, with an impatience mixed with contempt, any contradiction to his sentiments. Luther had imprudently treated him in a very rough and indecent manner; and though he afterwards apologized for the vehemence of his former expressions, he could never efface the hatred which Henry had conceived against him and his doctrines. Thus, while his resentment against the see of Rome had removed a part of his early prejudices, he made it a point of honour, never to relinquish the remainder: he still valued himself on maintaining the doctrines of the Romish church, and on guarding his speculative principles by fire and sword.

The king's ministers and courtiers were of very different characters. The queen was engaged, by her inclinations, as well as by her interest, to favour the cause of the reformers, whose opinions spread with great rapidity in England: Cromwell, who was made secretary of state, and was daily advancing in the king's confidence, had embraced the same views; and being distinguished by his abilities and prudence, was capable of promoting the reformation in a covert manner: Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who had gained Henry's friendship by his candour and sincerity, had also secretly adopted the sentiments of the Protestants. On the other hand, the duke of Norfolk

folk still adhered to the sentiments of the church of Rome; and from his high rank and abilities both for peace and war, had great authority in the king's council; and Gardiner, who had been lately created bishop of Winchester, was of the same party.

These ministers, thus of opposite principles, were obliged to disguise their particular sentiments, and to pretend to be entirely of the same opinion as their master. Both sides hoped, by their unlimited compliance, to bring him over to their party. In the meanwhile the king was enabled, by the courtship paid him by both Protestants and Catholics, to assume an unbounded authority; and tho' he was really carried away by his ungoverned humour, he steered a course which more certainly led to arbitrary power, than any which the most profound politics could have traced out for him.

But though the ambiguity of the king's conduct kept the courtiers in awe, it contributed to encourage the progress of the Protestant religion among his subjects. Tindall, Joye, Constantine, and other English Protestants, dreading, lest the king should exert his authority, had fled to Antwerp, where the privileges possessed by the provinces of the Netherlands, for some time, afforded them protection. They employed themselves in writing English books against images, relics, pilgrimages, and on the terms of acceptance with the Supreme Being. These books being privately brought into England, the opinions they contained

tained spread every where; but a translation of the scriptures, by Tindall, was esteemed of most danger to the established church. The first edition of this work containing several mistakes, Tindall, who was poor, and unable to afford the loss of a great part of the impression, longed for an opportunity to correct the errors, of which he had been made sensible. When Tonstall, then bishop of London, being possessed of great moderation, was desirous of discouraging, in the gentlest manner, these innovations; and gave private orders for purchasing all the copies that could be found at Antwerp, which he publicly burned in Cheapside. By this measure he greatly offended the people, in thus committing the word of God to the flames; while, by supplying Tindall with money, by purchasing his Bible, he enabled him to print a new and more correct edition.

The reformers had met with little severity during Wolfsey's ministry; one of the articles of his impeachment being, that by his connivance, he had encouraged the growth of heresy, and that he had protected and acquitted some notorious offenders. Sir Thomas More, who succeeded him as chancellor, though possessed of the gentlest manners, and the strictest integrity, carried his aversion to what he esteemed heterodoxy, to the utmost height; particularly with respect to James Bainham, a gentleman of the Temple; who being accused of favouring the new opinions, was carried to More's house, where, refusing to discover his accomplices,

## 12 THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

accomplices, the chancellor ordered him to be whipped in his presence, and afterwards sent him to the Tower, where he saw him put to the torture. This unhappy gentleman, overcome by these severities, abjured his opinions; but afterwards, being filled with the deepest compunction for his apostacy, he openly professed his former sentiments; and after being condemned as an obstinate and relapsed heretic, was committed to the flames in Smithfield.

Many were prosecuted in the bishops courts for the most trivial offences, that were esteemed proofs of their being of the party: some for teaching their children the Lord's prayer in English, and others for reading the New Testament in that language. To neglect the fasts of the church; to declaim against the vices of the clergy, and to harbour the persecuted preachers, were capital offences. Thomas Bilney, a priest, who had embraced the sentiments of the Protestants, had been terrified so far as to abjure them; but was so filled with remorse, that his friends dreaded it would produce some fatal effect. His mind seemed at last to be relieved; but this only proceeded from his having taken the resolution of atoning for his guilt, by an open confession of the truth, and by suffering martyrdom. He went through Norfolk, teaching the people to beware of trusting their salvation either to pilgrimages, or to the cowl of St. Francis, to the prayers of the saints, or to images. Being soon seized, he was tried in the bishop's court, condemned as a relapsed heretic, and a writ

writ was sent down to burn him. On his being brought to the stake, he discovered such patience, devotion and fortitude, that the spectators were deeply affected; and some mendicant friars, who were present, dreading lest his martyrdom should be imputed to them, and make them lose the alms they received from the charity of the people, entreated him to acquit them of having any hand in his death. He willingly complied; and by this instance of meekness, made a farther impression on the sympathy of the people. Another person, on being brought to the stake for denying the real presence, seemed almost in a transport of joy; and embraced the faggots that were to be the instruments of his punishment, as the means of procuring him celestial glory. In short, the cruelty of these executions produced the most extraordinary effects on the spectators. They became eager to examine those doctrines which, at the hour of death, and in the midst of tortures, could inspire such courage; and at the same time, were inspired with horror against the unrelenting persecutors.

Though Henry punished the Protestants with such severity, he knew that his most formidable enemies were the zealous adherents of the ancient religion, particularly the monks, who immediately depending on the Roman pontiff, apprehended, that abolishing his authority in England, would be followed by their ruin, yet he treated them with less rigour. Peyto, a friar, on his preaching before the king, had the boldness to tell him, that many lying prophets



#### 14 THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

phets had deceived him; but he, as a true Micajah, warned him, that the dogs would lick his blood, as they had done Ahab's. Henry took no notice, and allowed the preacher to depart in peace: but the next Sunday he employed Dr. Corren to preach before him, who justified the king's proceedings, and called Peyto a rebel, a slanderer, a dog, and a traitor. Elston, another friar, interrupted the doctor, by calling him one of the lying prophets, who sought to establish the succession of the crown by adultery, and that he himself would justify all that had been said by Peyto. Yet Henry shewed no other mark of resentment, than ordering both him and Peyto to be summoned before the council, and to be rebuked for their insolence. When there, the earl of Essex, a privy counsellor, told them, that they deserved, for their offence, to be thrown into the Thames; on which Elston boldly replied, that the road to heaven lay as near by water as by land.

However, several monks being detected in a conspiracy that might have proved of some danger to the king, were, on its discovery, punished with great severity. Elizabeth Barton, of Aldington, in Kent, commonly called *the Holy Maid of Kent*, having been subject to hysterical fits, which threw her into unusual convulsions, and producing an equal disorder in her mind, made her utter strange incoherent expressions. The silly people in that neighbourhood imagined them to be supernatural; and Richard Masters, vicar of the parish, founded



founded on them a project, from which he flattered himself with obtaining both profit and respect. Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, being then alive, he went to him; and giving him an account of Elizabeth's revelations, prevailed on that superstitious prelate to watch her in her trances, and to write down all her future sayings. This rendered her still more the object of attention; and Masters easily persuaded the people, that her ravings were inspirations of the Holy Ghost. Knavery was soon after used to carry on the delusion; she learned to counterfeit trances, and uttered, in an extraordinary tone, such speeches as were dictated to her by her spiritual Director. Masters associated with him in this knavery Dr. Bocking, canon of Christ Church, Canterbury, and their first design was to raise the reputation of an image of the Virgin, which stood in a chapel belonging to Masters, in order to draw to it such pilgrims, as used to visit the more famous images and reliques. For this purpose Elizabeth pretended revelations, by which she was directed to have recourse to that image for a cure; she was accordingly brought before it, in the presence of a great multitude; when falling again into convulsions, she distorted her countenance and limbs during a proper time, poured forth pious ejaculations, declared that God had called her to a religious life, and appointed Bocking to be her ghostly father, and then pretended to be recovered from all her disorders by the intercession of the Virgin.

This miracle was soon noised abroad, and the two priests finding that the imposture succeeded beyond their hopes, began to extend their views to more important enterprizes. They taught her to exclaim against the new heresies, against all innovations in ecclesiastical government, and against Henry's intended divorce from Catharine. She even asserted, that if he succeeded in that design, and married another wife, he should not be a king a month longer, but should die the death of a villain. Many monks throughout England entered into this delusion, and her pretended revelations were collected, and inserted in a book by a friar, named Deering. To increase the wonder, she was said to work miracles; and the pulpit every where resounded with the new prophets's sanctity and inspirations. She sent messages to queen Catharine, to exhort that princess to persist in opposing the divorce; the pope's ambassadors encouraged the popular credulity; and even Fisher, bishop of Rochester, notwithstanding his being a man of sense and learning, was carried away by a delusion so favourable to the party he had espoused. The king having ordered Elizabeth and her accomplices to be arrested, they were brought before the star-chamber, where they freely confessed their guilt; the parliament then passed an act of attainder against some who were engaged in this treasonable imposture; and Elizabeth, with Masters, Bocking, Deering, and three others, suffered death. The bishop of Rochester, Laurence, Addison, Abel,

Abel, and others, were condemned for misprision of treason, on account of their not having discovered some criminal speeches they heard Elizabeth utter; and were confined in prison. The multitude were undeceived by the detection of the forgery of many of the prophets's miracles; and even her scandalous prostitution was publicly exposed. It was found that a door to her dormitory, which, it was pretended, had been miraculously opened, in order to give her access to the chapel, that she might enjoy frequent converse with heaven, had been contrived by Masters and Bocking for the lewdest purposes.

The credit of the monks suffered by the detection of this imposture, and this instigated Henry, in 1535, to take vengeance on them. He suppressed three monasteries of the Observant friars; and perceiving, that this act of power excited little clamour, he was encouraged to suppress the remainder. In the mean time he punished those who had rendered themselves obnoxious to his resentment. The parliament had made it treason to endeavour to deprive the king of his titles or dignity, and had lately added to his other titles, that of Supreme Head of the Church; hence it was inferred, that it was treason to deny his supremacy; and many friars and ecclesiastics lost their lives for this new species of treason. An astonishing instance of cruelty and injustice, which must shock every principle of humanity and justice; nor could there be a higher instance of tyranny, than to punish the mere de-

livery of a political opinion, that did not at all affect the king's temporal right, as a capital offence; and to make it treason to deny what, during many ages, it had been heresy to assert.

Henry, however, impelled by the violence of his temper, and by the desire of striking a terror into the whole nation, proceeded to consummate his lawless tyranny, by making examples of Fisher and More. John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, was a prelate distinguished for his learning, and the purity of his morals; and had long been in high favour with the king. He had been thrown into prison for refusing the oath relating to the succession, and his concealing Elizabeth Barton's treasonable speeches; when he was not only deprived of his revenues, but stripped of his very clothes; and notwithstanding his venerable character and extreme age, was allowed nothing but rags, that were scarce sufficient to cover his nakedness. In this unhappy condition, he had lain above a twelvemonth in prison, when the pope created him a cardinal; an honour so indifferent to this prelate, that he declared he would not stoop to take up the purple, even if it were lying on the ground. Henry's indignation was roused by the promotion of a man merely for his opposition to royal authority; and he determined to make this innocent person feel the effects of his resentment. He was therefore indicted for denying the king's supremacy; and being brought to his trial, was condemned and beheaded.

The

The death of this prelate was intended by Henry as a warning to More, whose compliance was anxiously desired by the king, on account of his high reputation for learning and virtue. But More could never be prevailed on to acknowledge any opinion, so contrary to his principles as that of the king's supremacy. Rich, the solicitor general, was sent to confer with him on this subject; but he kept a cautious silence, and only said, that any question, with regard to the law which established the supremacy, was like a two-edged sword: if a person answered one way, it would confound his soul; if another, it would destroy his body. This was thought a sufficient foundation for an indictment of high treason. His silence was termed malicious, and rendered a part of his crime; and these words, which had casually dropped from him, were considered as a denial of the supremacy. During this reign, trials were mere formalities: the jury gave sentence against More, who having long expected his fate, was fortified against the terrors of death. His usual facetiousness never forsook him; and he made a sacrifice of his life to his integrity, with the utmost cheerfulness. On his mounting the scaffold, he said to one, "Friend, help me up, and when I come down, let me shift for myself." The executioner asking his forgiveness, he granted his request; but told him, "You will never get credit by beheading me, my neck is so short." Then laying his head on the block, he desired the executioner to stay till he put  
aside

aside his beard ; for, says he, “ That never  
 “ committed treason.” This great man was  
 beheaded on the 6th of July 1535, in the 53d  
 year of his age.

The news of the execution of Fisher and  
 More no sooner reached Rome, than every one  
 discovered the most violent rage against the  
 king. Clement VII. had died about six  
 months after he pronounced sentence against  
 Henry, and Paul III. of the name of Farnese,  
 who had always favoured Henry’s cause, had  
 succeeded to the papal throne ; but the execu-  
 tion of Fisher, who was invested with the dig-  
 nity of cardinal, was considered by Paul as so  
 capital an offence, that he immediately cited  
 the king, and all his adherents, to appear at  
 Rome within ninety days, in order to answer  
 for their crimes : if they failed, he excommu-  
 nicated them ; laid the kingdom under an in-  
 terdict ; dissolved all leagues which any Ca-  
 tholic princes had made with him ; command-  
 ed the nobility to take arms against him ; freed  
 his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and  
 declared his issue by Anne Boleyn illegitimate.  
 But though these censures were passed, the  
 pope delayed the publication of them, till he  
 should find it impossible to come to an agree-  
 ment with England ; and till the emperor,  
 who was at that time hard pressed by the Turks  
 and the Protestant princes of Germany, should  
 be able to execute the sentence.

Henry was sensible, that he had reason to  
 expect any injury which it was in Charles’s  
 power to inflict ; and therefore strove to render  
 that



that monarch incapable of wreaking his resentment upon him, by renewing his friendship with Francis, and offering to marry his infant daughter Elizabeth, to the duke of Angoulême, the third son of Francis. These two monarchs also made advances to the princes of the Protestant league in Germany, who were jealous of the emperor's ambition: but though both Francis and Henry flattered those princes with the hopes of their embracing the confession of Augsberg, it was considered as a bad symptom of their sincerity, that they exercised such cruel rigours against all the preachers of the reformation in their respective dominions.

While these negotiations were carrying on, an accident happened, which seemed to open the way for a reconciliation between Charles and Henry. Queen Catharine, being afflicted with a lingering illness, died at Kimbolton, in Huntingdonshire, on the 6th of January 1536, in the 50th year of her age. A little before her death, she wrote to the king a very tender letter, in which she called him her *most dear lord, king, and husband*. She observed, that as the hour of her death was now approaching, she seized this last opportunity, to remind him of the importance of his religious duties, and the comparative emptiness of all human grandeur and enjoyments: that though his fondness for these perishable advantages, had involved her in many calamities, as well as created him much trouble, she forgave him all past injuries, and hoped, that his pardon would



would be ratified in heaven : that the only request she had to make, was to recommend to him his daughter, the sole pledge of their love, and to crave his protection for her maids and servants ; concluding with these words, “ I make this vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things.” It is said, that Henry was so moved with this last tender proof of Catharine’s affection, as even to shed tears.

The emperor thought that the decease of his aunt had removed the foundation of all personal animosity between him and Henry, whence it might not be impossible to detach him from his alliance with France, and to renew his own confederacy with England. He therefore sent proposals for a renewal of their ancient friendship, on condition, that he would be reconciled to the see of Rome, assist him in his war with the Turks, and join him against Francis, who now threatened the dutchy of Milan. To this Henry answered, that he was willing to be upon good terms with him, if he would acknowledge, that their former breach of friendship proceeded entirely from himself : that as to the proposed conditions, his proceedings against the bishop of Rome were so just, and so fully ratified by parliament, that they could not now be revoked : that when the Christian princes had settled a peace among themselves, he would not fail to exert a proper vigour against the enemies of the faith ; and after the amity with the emperor was fully restored, he should be able, as a  
common

common friend both to him and Francis, to give his assistance to the injured party.

The monks were at this time extremely enraged against Henry, and considered the abolition of the papal authority in England, as the removal of their only protection against the rapacity of the crown and of the courtiers. The monasteries were now subject to the king's visitation; and the progress of the reformation abroad, which had every where been attended with the abolition of the monastic state, made them dread the like consequences in England: and though the king still maintained the doctrine of purgatory, they apprehended, that he would daily be drawn nearer the tenets of the reformers, with whom his political interests induced him to unite. The friars, moved by these considerations, exerted their influence, in enflaming the minds of the people against Henry's government; when he finding their safety incompatible with his own, resolved to seize the present opportunity of destroying them.

Cromwell had been appointed vicar-general, a new office, by which the king's uncontrouled power over the church was delegated to him. He employed Bellasis, Layton, London, Price, Gage, and others, as commissioners, who every where carried on a rigorous enquiry into the conduct of all the friars. The monks were encouraged to bring in informations against their brethren, and the slightest evidence was credited. Monstrous disorders are therefore said to have been found in many of the religious houses:

houses: whole convents of women abandoned to lewdness; signs of abortions procured, of infants murdered, and unnatural lusts between persons of the same sex. It is not improbable, that the blind submission of the people, during those ages, might render the monks and friars more unguarded and more dissolute than they are at present, in any Roman Catholic country: yet the reproaches, which it is safest to credit, are such as relate to the vices that are naturally connected with the very institution of the monastic life. The cruel and inveterate quarrels mentioned by the commissioners, are not incredible among men, who being confined together within the same walls, retain their mutual animosities; and being cut off from all the most endearing connections of life, are frequently more selfish and unrelenting than other men. The pious frauds practised to encrease the liberality of the people, may be considered as certain, in an order founded on illusions and superstition. And the reproach of supine indolence, and its natural attendant, profound ignorance, was undoubtedly just; for though the monks were both the inventors and preservers of the captious philosophy of the schools, no great knowledge could, in general, be expected from persons condemned to a tedious uniformity of life, and destitute of all emulation.

A few monasteries, terrified by the rigorous inquisition of the commissioners, surrendered their revenues into the hands of the king; and the monks were rewarded for their obsequiousness,

ousness, by small pensions. Such monks and nuns as were not twenty-four years of age were dismissed, their vows not being supposed to be binding; and all those who were above that age, might recover their liberty, if they desired it. But these expedients not fully answering the king's purpose, he had recourse to the parliament; and in order to prepare the people for the projected innovations, the report of the visitors was published, and a general horror was instantly excited against those very institutions, which had formerly excited the most profound veneration.

Henry resolving to proceed gradually in abolishing the monastic orders, directed the parliament to proceed no farther at present, than to suppress the lesser monasteries, whose revenues did not amount to two hundred pounds a year. These being less exposed to scrutiny, were found to be the most corrupted, as being less under the restraint of shame; and it was thought safest to begin with them, in order to prepare the way for the suppression of the others. Three hundred and seventy-six monasteries were suppressed by this act; and their revenues, which amounted to thirty-two thousand pounds a year, were granted to the king, besides their plate, goods, and chattels, which were computed at a hundred thousand pounds more; and so absolute was Henry's authority, that it does not appear any opposition was made to this law. A court was also erected for the management of these funds; termed the Court of Augmentation of the King's revenue.

During this session, the convocation was employed in deliberating on a new translation of the scriptures. That made by Tindall, though corrected by himself in a new edition, the clergy still complained was inaccurate; it was therefore proposed to them, to publish a translation, that should not be liable to that objection; and in three years time, that work was finished and printed. This was esteemed a great point gained by the Protestants.

While the reformers were rejoicing in their prosperity, an incident happened, which seemed to blast all their hopes: Anne Boleyn, their patroness, no longer possessed the king's favour. Henry's love to that lady had lasted during the six years that he spent in prosecuting his divorce; but the affection which had subsisted, and still increased under difficulties, had not long obtained the secure possession of its object, when satiety made it languish; and the king's heart was visibly estranged from his consort. This fatal change being soon perceived by the queen's enemies, and they finding that they should incur no danger by interposing in those delicate concerns, endeavoured to widen the breach. She had been delivered of a dead son; and Henry's extreme desire to have male issue being thus for the present disappointed, his violent and superstitious temper was disposed to make the innocent mother answerable for this misfortune. But the principal means employed by the queen's enemies to exasperate the king against her, was by exciting his jealousy.

Though

Though Anne appears to have been strictly virtuous, she had a gaiety of disposition, which, throwing her off her guard, rendered her less circumspect than was required by her situation. Her being educated in France rendered her more liable to those freedoms; and she found some difficulty in conforming herself to the strict ceremonial practised in Henry's court. As she had more vanity than pride, she was pleased at observing the influence of her beauty on all about her; and indulged an easy familiarity with those who were formerly her equals, and who had some right to pretend to her friendship. By these popular manners, Henry's dignity was offended; for though the lover had been blind, the husband possessed too quick a penetration. Wicked instruments now gave a malicious interpretation to all the queen's most harmless liberties: in particular, the viscountess of Rocheford, who was married to the queen's brother, but lived on bad terms with her sister-in-law, insinuated into the king's mind the most cruel suspicions; and being a woman of a profligate character, paid no regard, in the calumnies she suggested, either to truth or humanity. She pretended, that the viscount, her husband, had entered into a criminal correspondence with her sister; and not satisfied with this base imputation, represented every instance of favour which she conferred on others as a mark of affection. Among those who were observed to possess much of the queen's friendship, were Henry Norris, groom of the state, Brereton and Weston, gentlemen



of the king's chamber, and Mark Smeton, groom of the chamber, who served her with the utmost zeal and attachment. The king's jealousy laid hold of the slightest circumstance; but finding no object on which it could securely fasten, vented itself on all who received the least countenance from the queen.

Henry's jealousy, which was stern and inexorable, was the offspring of pride, and proceeded not from the love of its object, but his having transferred that passion to another woman. He was now captivated by the charms of Jane, the daughter of Sir John Seymour, maid of honour to the queen; a young lady of singular beauty and merit; and was resolved to sacrifice every thing to the gratification of his new passion. Instead of forming the same judgment of the crime of gallantry that most monarchs do, who think a young lady rather honoured than disgraced by being taken to their bed, he seldom formed the idea of any other attachment than that of marriage; and to attain this, struggled with more difficulties, and committed much greater crimes than those he sought to avoid. Having therefore resolved to raise this lady to his bed and his throne, he willingly listened to every imputation of guilt cast on his unhappy queen.

Henry first publicly discovered his jealousy, in a tournament at Greenwich, where the queen happening to drop her handkerchief, he interpreted this accident, which was doubtless casual, as a piece of gallantry to some of her paramours. Instantly leaving the place, he

sent





*Jane Seymour, Queen to K. Henry VIII.*

*From a Copy of a Picture by Holbein.*



sent orders for her being confined to her chamber ; and arrested not only her brother Rocheford, but Smeton, Weston, Brereton, and Norris, whom he threw into prison. The queen, struck with astonishment, at first thought, that he only meant to try how she would behave ; but soon finding him in earnest, reflected on his obstinate, unrelenting heart ; and prepared for the melancholy doom that awaited her. The next day she was sent to the Tower ; and while she was going thither, was informed of her supposed offences, of which she had hitherto been ignorant. She earnestly protested her innocence ; and on her entering her prison, fell on her knees, and prayed to God to help her only so far as she was not guilty of the crimes laid to her charge. Her terror and surprize threw her into hysterics ; when thinking that the best proof she could give of her innocence, was to make an entire confession, she revealed some levities and indiscretions, which her simplicity betrayed her to commit and acknowledge. She owned her having once rallied Norris on his delaying his marriage ; and her telling him, that he probably expected her when he should be a widow. She said, she had reproved Weston for his regard to her kinswoman, and his indifference towards his wife ; but he told her, that she had mistaken the object of his affection, for it was herself ; upon which she desied him. She asserted, that Smeton had only been twice in her chamber, when he played on the harpsichord ; but acknowledged, that he had once the bold-

ness to tell her, that a look sufficed him. But Henry was so far from being satisfied with the candour and sincerity of this confession, that he considered these indiscretions only as preludes to intimacies of a more criminal nature.

Among the multitudes on whom the queen, during her prosperity, had conferred acts of beneficence, none durst interpose between her and the fury of the king; and she, whose promotion every breath had favoured, was now neglected and abandoned. Even the duke of Norfolk, her uncle, preferring the connections of party to the ties of blood, became her most dangerous enemy; and all who zealously adhered to the Catholic religion, hoped, that her death would put an end to the king's quarrel with Rome, and incline him to enter into an intimate union with the apostolic see. Of all the queen's adherents, Cranmer alone retained his friendship for her; and endeavoured, as far as the king's impetuosity would permit him, to moderate the violent prejudices he had entertained against her.

The unhappy queen wrote a letter to Henry from the Tower, filled with the most tender expostulations, and the warmest protestations of her innocence: but it had no influence on the obdurate heart of the king, who resolved to pave the way for his new marriage, by her death. Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton, were brought to their trials; but no legal evidence was produced against them. The chief proof alledged of their guilt, consisted in what one lady Wingfield, who was dead,

dead, had been heard to say. Smeton was, however, by the vain hopes of life, prevailed on to confess a criminal correspondence with the queen; but so little advantage did her enemies expect to obtain from this confession, that they never dared to confront him with her; and he was immediately carried to execution, as were also Weston and Brereton. Norris had enjoyed the king's favour; and was offered his life on condition of his confessing his crime, and accusing the queen: but this proposal he generously rejected; and said, that, in his conscience, he believed her to be perfectly guiltless, and that he would rather die a thousand deaths than calumniate an innocent person.

Anne Boleyn and her brother were tried by a jury of peers, composed of the duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Arundel, and twenty-three others. The duke of Norfolk, her uncle, presided as high steward. The chief evidence against them is said to have consisted, in Rocheford having been seen to lean on her bed before some company. A part of the charge brought against her was, that she had affirmed to her minions, that the king never had her heart; and that she had said to each of them apart, that she loved him better than any person whatsoever; *which was to the slander of the issue begotten between the king and her.* By this strained interpretation, her supposed crime was brought under the statute of the twenty-fifth of this reign, which declared it criminal to throw any slander

der upon the king, queen, or their issue. Such palpable absurdities were admitted as a sufficient reason for sacrificing an innocent queen to the cruelty of a tyrant! Though she was not allowed council, she defended herself with great presence of mind; and though the spectators could not forbear pronouncing her entirely innocent, the court gave judgment both against the queen and lord Rocheford; and she was sentenced to be burned or beheaded at the king's pleasure. On hearing this dreadful sentence pronounced, she lifted up her hands to heaven, and said, "O Father! O Creator! thou art the way, the truth, and the life, thou knowest that I have not deserved this fate." Then, turning to the judges, she made the most pathetic protestations of her innocence.

The queen, while preparing for death, sent her last message to the king; in which she acknowledged her obligations to him, in thus uniformly continuing his endeavours for her advancement: observing, that from a private gentlewoman, he at first made her a marchioness, then a queen, and now, since he could raise her to no higher rank in this world, he was sending her to be a saint in heaven. Then renewing the protestations of her innocence, she recommended her daughter to his care.

She made the like declarations to the lieutenant of the tower, and to all who approached her: still she continued to behave with her usual serenity, and even with cheerfulness. Addressing the lieutenant, she said, "The executioner



“ executioner is, I hear, very expert, and my “ neck is very slender”: upon which she grasped it in her hand, and smiled. She was brought to the scaffold on the 19th of May 1536; when probably her maternal concern for Elizabeth prevailed over that indignation which the unjust sentence, by which she suffered, naturally excited in her mind, for she only said, that she was come to die, as she was sentenced by the law: she would accuse none, nor say any thing of the ground upon which she was judged. She then prayed heartily for the king, whom she called a most merciful and gentle prince; and acknowledged, that he had always been to her a good and gracious sovereign, and, if any one should think proper to canvas her cause, she desired him to judge the best. She was beheaded by the executioner of Calais, who was sent for, on account of his being more expert than any in England. Her body was negligently thrown into a common elm-tree chest, made to hold arrows, and was interred in the tower.

There is not the least doubt of this unfortunate queen's innocence. Henry himself knew not whom to accuse; and though he imputed her guilt to her brother and four other persons, he was unable to bring proof against any one of them: but had she been of an abandoned character, she must have exposed herself to detection, and have afforded her enemies some evidence against her. Henry, however, made the most effectual apology for her, by his impatience to gratify his new passion, which made  
him

him blind to decency ; for his heart was so little softened by the blood of a person, for whom he had long the most tender affection, that on the very day after her execution, he married Jane Seymour.

The lady Mary thought her step mother's death a proper opportunity for reconciling herself to the king ; but her advances were not, at first, received : Henry required this young princess, who was then about twenty years of age, to adopt his theological sentiments, acknowledge his supremacy, renounce the pope, and own her mother's marriage to be unlawful and incestuous. This the princess could not well digest ; but, after some refusals and delays, she was induced to write a letter to her father, containing her assent to the above articles ; upon which she was received into favour : yet the king did not divest himself of all kindness towards his daughter Elizabeth ; and the new queen, who had a singular sweetness of disposition, shewed a great affection for her.

Henry now summoned a new parliament, in which he made a merit to his people, that, notwithstanding the misfortunes attending his two former marriages, he had, for their good, been induced to venture on a third. In this parliament his divorce from Anne Boleyn was ratified ; that queen and all her accomplices were attainted ; the issue of both his former marriages were declared illegitimate ; and it was even made treason to assert the legitimacy of either Mary or Elizabeth, as well as to throw

throw any slander upon the present king, queen, or their issue. The crown was settled on the king's issue by Jane Seymour, or any subsequent wife; and in case he should die without children, he was empowered to dispose of the crown, by his will, or by letters patent.

The pope, on hearing of Anne Boleyn's disgrace and death, had hoped for a reconciliation with Henry; and had made some advances to him; but that prince was now become indifferent with regard to papal censures, and finding that he had derived a great increase of authority, as well as revenues, from his quarrel with Rome, he resolved to persevere in his present measures. In this resolution he was encouraged by the extreme complaisance of the convocation, which met at the same time with the parliament: for, though there was secretly a great division of sentiments in the minds of this assembly, the king's authority and arrogance kept every one submissive and silent. And the idea of that supremacy, with whose limits none was fully acquainted, restrained all theological rancour. Cromwell still presided as vicar-general; and though the Catholic party expected that he would fall with queen Anne, they were surprized to find that he still maintained the same credit as before. With him concurred Cranmer the primate, Latimer, bishop of Worcester, Hisey of Rochester, Fox of Hereford, Shaxton of Salisbury, and Barlow of St. David's. At the head of the opposite party, was Lee, archbishop of York; Tonstall, bishop of Durham; Stokesley

Stokesley of London; Gardiner of Winchester; Sherbone of Chichester; Longland of Lincoln; Nix of Norwich, and Kite of Carlisle. The former party, by opposing the pope, seconded the king's ambition and love of power: the latter, by maintaining the ancient opinion, were more agreeable to his speculative principles; and both of them had alternately the advantage of gaining on his humour, by which he was principally governed.

After some debate, the convocation decided articles of faith; those of each party introducing their sentiments. The standard of faith they determined to consist in the scriptures and the apostolic, Nicene and Athanasian creeds, which was esteemed a signal victory of the reformers: Auricular confession and penance were admitted agreeable to the Catholics; but the Protestants had such influence, that marriage, extreme unction, confirmation, and holy orders, were not mentioned as sacraments. The Catholics prevailed in asserting, that the use of images was warranted by scripture; and the Protestants in warning the people against idolatry, and the abuse of these sensible representations. The expediency of praying to saints was still allowed; but the peculiar patronage of saints to any trade, profession, or course of life, was rejected. These, and other articles, when framed by the convocation, and corrected by Henry, were subscribed by every member of that assembly.

In the mean time the dissolution of the smaller monasteries, and the danger to which the  
rest

rest were exposed, filled the people with discontent; for the expelled monks, who wandered about the country, excited both their piety and compassion. Discontent also spread among the nobility and gentry, whose ancestors had founded the monasteries, and who thought they received honour and advantage from those institutions, which afforded them a support for their younger children; and the more superstitious were concerned for the souls of their fore-fathers, which they thought must now lie for many ages in purgatory, for want of masses to relieve them: but the people did not break into open sedition, till they were countenanced by the complaints of the secular clergy. Cromwell's authority being so absolute and unlimited, filled them with apprehensions. He published an ordinance, in the king's name, without the consent either of the parliament or convocation, in which he retrenched many of the ancient holidays; prohibited pilgrimages, images and relics, all of which were gainful to the clergy; and even enjoined the incumbents of the parish churches to set apart a considerable portion of their revenues for repairs, the support of exhibitors, and the parish-poor. The secular priests being therefore exasperated, instilled their discontents into the minds of the people.<sup>a</sup>

An insurrection first broke out in Lincolnshire, where Dr. Mackrel, prior of Barlings, placed himself at the head of the malecontents, under the disguise of a mean mechanic, and was called Captain Cobler. This army, which

amounted to twenty thousand men, acknowledged the king to be supreme head of the church of England; but complained of his suppressing monasteries, of persons of low birth raised to dignity, of evil counsellors, of the jewels and plate of the parish churches being exposed to danger, and entreated the king to consult the nobility on the redress of these grievances. Henry returned a severe answer to their petition; but having afterwards levied a great force at London, with which he prepared to march against these rebels, he thought, that being so well supported by power, he might, without injuring his dignity, shew them greater condescension, and therefore sent a new proclamation, requiring them, with secret assurances of pardon, to return to their duty. Upon this the populace dispersed, and Mackrel, with some of their leaders, falling into Henry's hands, were executed: but a few of the more obstinate fled into the north, and joined an insurrection that was raising there.

The northern rebels, who were more numerous, and more accustomed to arms, were commanded by one Aske, a gentleman, and their enterprize was called the *Pilgrimage of Grace*. Some priests, in the habits of their order, marched before them, each carrying a crucifix in his hand. In their banners were also a cross, a chalice, and the representation of the five wounds of Christ. On their sleeve they likewise wore an emblem of the five wounds, with the name of Jesus wrought in the middle. They all took an oath, that they had no other motives



motives in entering into the pilgrimage of Grace, than their love of God ; their care of the king's person and issue ; their desire of driving base-born persons from about the king ; of restoring the church, and suppressing heresy. About forty thousand men, allured by these fair pretences, flocked to their standard, and inspired the court with apprehensions, from their zeal and their numbers.

In order to oppose the rebels, the earl of Shrewsbury raised forces, though first without any commission. They were repulsed in attempting to take several castles, but prevailed in taking both York and Hull ; and having laid siege to Pomfret castle, into which the archbishop of York and lord Darcy had thrown themselves, it was soon surrendered to them ; and both the prelate and nobleman joined the rebels.

The king gave the command of the forces, which he sent against the northern rebels, to the duke of Norfolk, who, being at the head of the Catholic party at court, was suspected of favouring the cause he was sent to oppose : but he behaved with such prudence, as seemed to acquit him of this charge. He encamped, with the earl of Shrewsbury, near Doncaster ; and as his army scarcely exceeded five thousand men, posted himself where he had a river in front ; proposing to defend the ford against the rebels. They intended to attack him the next morning ; but there fell such violent rains during the night, as rendered the river impassable. Norfolk wisely laid hold of this

circumstance to enter into a treaty with them, and sent them a herald, whom Aske, their leader, received with great ceremony, sitting in a chair of state, with the archbishop of York on one hand, and lord Darcy on the other. It was agreed, that they should send two gentlemen with their proposals to the king. Henry delayed giving them an answer; and allured them with the hopes of obtaining full satisfaction, in expectation of their being obliged, by necessity, soon to disperse. This artifice having, in a great measure, succeeded, he ordered them instantly to lay down their arms, promising a pardon to all, except six whom he named, and four whom he reserved to himself the power of naming.

Notwithstanding the greatest part of the rebels had returned home for want of subsistence, they had entered into the most solemn engagements, that in case the king's answer was not satisfactory, they would return to their standards. Hence Norfolk soon found himself under the same difficulty as before; and again opening a negotiation with the leaders, engaged them to send three hundred persons to Doncaster, with proposals for an accommodation. Aske himself desired to be one of the deputies, and demanded an hostage for his security; but the king being consulted, replied, that he knew no gentleman, or other person, whom he esteemed so little, as to put him in pledge for such a villain. The demands of the rebels being exorbitant, were rejected by Norfolk, who again prepared to decide the dispute

pute by force of arms. They were now as formidable as ever; and notwithstanding the small river which lay between them, Norfolk had great reason to be under apprehensions: but while they were preparing to pass the ford, the rain fell a second time, and rendered it impracticable for them to execute their design; on which the populace, being reduced to necessity by the want of provisions, and struck at their being thus again disappointed, suddenly dispersed; which the duke of Norfolk promoted by the promise of a general amnesty, and this was afterwards ratified by the king. Henry, however, published an answer to their complaints, in a very lofty and arrogant stile; telling them, that they ought no more to pretend to give a judgment, with respect to government, than a blind man with regard to colours: adding, “ And we, with our whole  
“ council, think it right strange that ye, who  
“ be but brutes, and inexpert folk, do take  
“ upon you to appoint us, who be meet or not,  
“ for our council.”

Norfolk was now ordered to march farther into the north, to exact a general submission. Lord Darcy and Aske were thrown into prison; but soon after, a new insurrection broke out, headed by Musgrave and Tilby, who, with 3000 men, laid siege to Carlisle; but being repulsed by that city, were attacked and put to flight in their retreat by Norfolk, who took all their officers, except Musgrave, who escaped, and put them to death by martial law. Norfolk suppressed several other risings; and the

king being enraged at these multiplied revolts, revoked the general pardon which he had granted, and ordered Norfolk to execute martial law wherever he thought proper, in the punishment of offenders; on which, a considerable number of persons of rank were executed; among whom were Aske and lord Darcy.

Soon after the suppression of these rebellions, Henry was filled with joy at the birth of a son, who received the name of Edward; but the queen died two days after, and the young prince, before he was six days old, was created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester.

The suppression of the late rebellions having fortified and increased the royal authority, afforded Henry a favourable opportunity for destroying the remainder of the monasteries; and a new visitation was appointed of all those in the kingdom. The abbots and monks, knowing the danger to which they were exposed, and having learned, by the example of the lesser monasteries, that nothing could withstand the king's will, were most of them induced to make a voluntary resignation of their houses, in hopes of receiving better treatment. Where promises failed, menaces and extreme violence were employed; and as, since the breach with Rome, several of the abbots had been named by the court, the king's intentions were the more easily complied with. Some having also secretly embraced the doctrines of the reformation, were glad to be freed from their vows. Thus this affair was conducted  
with

with such success, that in less than two years, Henry obtained the possession of the revenues of all the monasteries in the kingdom.

Great interest was, however, made in several places to preserve some convents of women, who living in the most irreproachable manner, it was thought they justly merited to have their houses saved from the general destruction. There appeared a great difference between the case of the nuns and the friars; for the latter, if possessed of industry, might be of service to the public; and could not want an employment suitable to their capacities. But a woman of family, who failed of obtaining a settlement in the marriage state, to which such persons were more liable than women of lower rank, had no station which she could so properly fill; and a convent was considered as an honourable retreat from the inutility, and often want attending their situation. But Henry resolved to abolish convents of every denomination.

In order to reconcile the people the better to this great innovation, stories were propagated of the detestable lives of the friars in several of the convents; and great care was taken to expose to ridicule, the relics and other superstitions which had long been the object of the highest veneration. Among these were some of the coals that roasted St. Laurence; the pairings of St. Edmond's toe-nails; two or three heads of St. Ursula; the girdle of the Virgin, shewn in eleven different places; a great quantity of the real cross; part of St.

Thomas

#### 44 THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

Thomas of Canterbury's shirt, highly revered by big-bellied women; certain relics to prevent rain, and the growth of weeds among corn. There were also discovered some impostures of a more artful kind. At Hales, in Gloucestershire, the monks had shewn, during several ages, the blood of Christ, brought from Jerusalem; a relic regarded with the highest veneration. This relic was attended with a miraculous circumstance, the sacred blood being invisible to any one in mortal sin, till he had performed good works sufficient for his absolution. The whole contrivance was detected at the dissolution of the monastery, when it was found, that two of the monks, who were in the secret, took the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week, and put it in a phial, one side of which was of thin and transparent crystal, and the other thick and impervious to the rays of light. When any rich pilgrim arrived, they shewed him the dark side of the phial, till his offences were expiated by masses and offerings; and then rendered him happy, by turning the phial. At Boxley, in Kent, was a miraculous crucifix, called the Rood of Grace. The head, eyes, and lips of which, moved on the approach of its votaries. This crucifix being brought to London, Hilsey, bishop of Rochester, broke it at St. Paul's-cross, in sight of the people; and shewed them the springs and wheels by which it had been secretly moved. A large wooden image, revered in Wales, and called Darvel Gatherin, to which  
incredible



incredible numbers of pilgrims had resorted, on the supposition, that it had power to deliver souls from hell. This being also brought to London, was cut in pieces; and as a refinement in cruelty, was employed as fuel, to burn friar Forest, who suffered for denying the supremacy.

Besides these, many others are mentioned. But of all the instruments of superstition, none was more zealously destroyed than the shrine of Thomas Becket; who having owed his canonization to his zealous defence of the privileges of the church, the monks had encouraged pilgrimages to his tomb; and pretended, that his relics had wrought numberless miracles. A jubilee to his honour was celebrated every fiftieth year, which lasted fifteen days: to all that visited his tomb, was then granted plenary indulgences; and a hundred thousand pilgrims have been registered in Canterbury at one time. The devotion towards him in that city, had effaced the adoration of the Deity, and even that of the Virgin. For instance; there was offered in one year, at the altar of God, only three pounds two shillings and six-pence; at the Virgin's, no more than sixty-three pounds five shillings and six-pence; and at St. Thomas's, eight hundred and thirty-two pounds twelve shillings and three-pence. But the next year there was a still greater disproportion; not a penny being offered at God's altar, and that of the Virgin gained only four pounds one shilling and eight pence, but St. Thomas had nine hundred and fifty-four pounds

six shillings and three-pence. A saint of his character was necessarily highly obnoxious to Henry; and the veneration paid to him was a censure on all his projects for degrading the authority of the court of Rome. He therefore not only pillaged St. Thomas's rich shrine; but cited the saint himself to appear in court, to be tried and condemned as a traitor: he ordered his bones to be burned, and the ashes to be thrown in the air; his name to be struck out of the calendar, and the office for his festival to be struck out of all breviaries.

At different times Henry suppressed six hundred and forty-five monasteries, twenty-eight of which had abbots, who enjoyed a seat in parliament; besides ninety colleges, two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries\* and free chapels†, with a hundred and ten hospitals; the revenues of which amounted, in the whole, to a hundred and sixty-one thousand one hundred pounds. As the ruin of the monasteries had been foreseen some years before it happened, the monks had prudently taken care to secrete before hand most of their stock, furniture, and plate; whence the spoils

\* A chantry was a chapel with a particular altar in a cathedral, &c. endowed with a revenue for the support of one or more priests, to say mass daily for the souls of the founders, or for such others as they appointed.

† Free chapels were endowed for much the same purpose as the chantries, but were independent on any church.

of the great monasteries did not bear, in these respects, any proportion to those of the lesser.

To reconcile the people to these great innovations, they were told, that the king would, from thenceforward, have no occasion to raise taxes, as the revenues of the abbey-lands alone would be sufficient to defray the whole charges of government, in war as well as in peace: and in order to interest the nobility and gentry in the success of his measures, he gave the revenues of convents to his favourites and courtiers; and in these liberalities was so profuse, that he is said to have given the revenue of a convent to reward a woman for making a pudding which pleased him. On the other hand, he settled pensions on the abbots and priors, in proportion to their former revenues, or their supposed merits. To each monk he granted an annual pension of eight marks; he likewise erected six new bishoprics, Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Gloucester, and Chester; all of which, except the first, still subsist. By these means, the profits he reaped from the seizure of the church lands, fell much short of what was supposed.

The regular clergy had also enjoyed a considerable part of the benefices of England, with the tithes annexed to them; and these were also now transferred to the crown, and by that means, came into the hands of laymen.

When the news of these proceedings reached Rome, that court was filled with indignation; and the pope at last published the bull, which had before been passed against Henry. He  
was

was therefore excommunicated; his soul delivered over to Satan, and his dominions to the first invader. Works were now published, in which he was compared to the most furious persecutor of antiquity: he was represented as having declared war with the dead, who were respected even by the Pagans, as being at open hostilities with heaven; and as having engaged in professed enmity with the whole host of saints and angels. In particular, he was often reproached with resembling the emperor Julian in his apostacy and learning, though he was inferior to him in morals. In some of these pieces, Henry distinguished the stile of his kinsman, Pole, and was thence incited to vent his rage against him.

Reginald de la Pole was the fourth son of the countess of Salisbury, the duke of Clarence's daughter. In his early youth, he shewed that fine genius and generous disposition, by which he was distinguished during his whole life. Henry entertaining a great friendship for him, intended to raise him to the highest ecclesiastical dignities; and as a pledge of future favours, made him dean of Exeter. Pole was pursuing his studies in Paris, when the king solicited that university in favour of his divorce, but declined taking any part in that affair. Henry bore this with more temper than was natural to him: he allowed him still to possess his deanery, and permitted him to go to Padua to finish his studies: he even wrote to desire him to give his opinion freely, with regard to the late measures taken  
in

in England for abolishing the papal authority. But Pole had now contracted an intimate friendship with all the persons of eminent dignity and merit in Italy; and replied, by writing a treatise of the unity of the church, in which he inveighed against the king's supremacy, his divorce, his second marriage, and even exhorted the emperor to revenge the injury done to the Imperial family, and to the Catholic cause. Henry, though extremely exasperated, dissembled his resentment, and sent to desire Pole to return to England, in order to explain certain passages in his book; but with this request he refused to comply. Having thus sacrificed all his pretensions to fortune in his own country, the emperor and the pope thought themselves obliged to provide for him. He was, therefore, created a cardinal, and was sent legate into Flanders.

Henry being sensible, that Pole's chief employment was to encourage the mutinous disposition of the English Catholics, remonstrated so warmly with the queen of Hungary, regent of the Low Countries, that she dismissed the legate, who now kept no farther measures in his intrigues against Henry. He was even suspected of aspiring to the crown; and was charged with entering into a conspiracy with Courtney, marquis of Exeter, Sir Edward Nevill, brother to the lord Abergavenny, Sir Nicholas Carew, master of the horse, Henry de la Pole, lord Montacute, and Sir Geoffry de la Pole, the cardinal's brothers; who be-

ing tried and convicted, were all executed except Sir Geoffry, who was pardoned.

Though Henry had, for several years, been gradually changing the tenets of his religion, he was no less positive and dogmatical in the few articles which remained, than if the whole fabric had continued unshaken, and thought himself entitled to regulate, by his own standard, the faith of the whole nation. He chiefly rested his orthodoxy on the real presence; and every departure from this opinion, he deemed heretical and detestable; imagining, that it would be extremely honourable for him, after he had broke off all connection with the pope, to maintain the purity of the Catholic faith in this essential article.

One Lambert, a school-master in London, had been confined by archbishop Warham for unsound opinions; but had been released upon the death of that prelate, and still continued to propagate his sentiments. Having heard Dr. Taylor, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, defend the corporal presence in a sermon, he informed Taylor of his dissent from that doctrine, and drew up his objections under ten articles. Taylor communicated this paper to Dr. Barnes, a Lutheran, who maintained, that though the substance of bread and wine remained in the elements, yet the real body and blood of Christ were, in a mysterious manner, incorporated with them. Barnes was, by the present laws, no less liable to suffer than Lambert; yet such was the prosecuting rage, which then prevailed, that he resolved to bring this  
man



man to condign punishment, because in their common departure from the ancient faith, he had ventured to go one step farther than himself. He induced Taylor to accuse Lambert before Cranmer and Latimer; who, whatever were their private opinions, were obliged to conform to Henry's standard of orthodoxy; and therefore endeavoured to persuade him to recant; but instead of complying, he appealed to the king.

Henry, pleased with an opportunity of at once exerting his supremacy, and displaying his learning, caused public notice to be given, that he intended to enter the lists with Lambert. For the accommodation of the hearers, scaffolds were erected in Westminster-hall, and Henry was seated on his throne, with all the ensigns of majesty. On his right hand, were placed the prelates; on his left, the temporal peers; behind the bishops, were seated the judges and most eminent lawyers; behind the peers, the courtiers of greatest distinction; and the unhappy Lambert stood in the midst of this splendid assembly, to defend his opinions against his royal antagonist.

The conference was opened by the bishop of Chichester, who observed, that Lambert being charged with heresy, had appealed from his bishop to the king, as if his majesty could ever be induced to protect a heretic: that though the king had thrown off the usurpations of Rome; had disincorporated some idle monks, who lived like drones in a bee-hive; had abolished the idolatrous worship of images; had

published the Bible in English, and made some smaller alterations, which all must approve; he was determined to maintain the purity of the Catholic faith, and to punish, with the utmost severity, all who departed from it: whence he had taken the present opportunity, before so learned and grave an auditory, of convincing Lambert of his errors; but if he continued to persist in them, he must expect the most condign punishment. The king then, with a most stern countenance, asked Lambert, what was his opinion of Christ's corporal presence in the sacrament of the altar? Lambert began his reply with a compliment to his majesty; but he rejected the praise with disdain and indignation; and then pressed Lambert with arguments drawn from scripture and the schoolmen: the audience applauded the force of his reasoning, and the extent of his erudition: the bishops then seconded his proofs by some new topics; and the pretended disputation continued five hours, till Lambert, abashed, confounded, brow-beaten, and fatigued, was reduced to silence. Henry then asked him, whether he was convinced, and whether he was resolved to live or die? On which he replied, that he cast himself wholly on his majesty's clemency. The king then said, that he would be no protector of heretics; and if that was his final answer, he must expect to be committed to the flames.

Lambert was undaunted at the prospect of the dreadful punishment he was to suffer; and his executioners, as he had personally opposed the  
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king, resolved to render them as cruel as possible: he was burned at a slow fire; but when his legs and thighs were consumed to the stumps, some of the guards pushed him with their halberts into the flames, where he expired, crying aloud several times, "None but Christ, none but Christ."

A few days before his execution, four Dutch baptists, three men and a woman, were burned at Paul's Cross; and Dutch man and a woman of the same sect, were committed to the flames in Smithfield.

In a parliament summoned the next year, 1539, a committee was chosen by the king's desire, to draw up articles, on which the bill of six articles, termed by the Protestants the bloody bill, passed the two houses, and received the royal assent. By this law were established the doctrine of the real presence; the communion only in one kind; the perpetual obligation of vows of chastity; the celibacy of the clergy; the utility of private masses; and the necessity of auricular confession. The denial of the real presence subjected the person to the flames, and the forfeiture of all his goods without the privilege of abjuring; and the denial of any of the other five articles, even though recanted, to the forfeiture of goods and chattels, and imprisonment during the king's pleasure: but an obstinate adherence or relapse was punishable with death. Cranmer had the courage to oppose this bill in the house; and tho' the king desired him to absent himself, he did not chuse to comply. However, on passing

the act, that prelate was obliged to dismiss his wife; on which Henry, being satisfied with this proof of his submission, shewed him his former countenance and favour. On account of this law, Latimer and Shaxton resigned their bishoprics, and were thrown into prison.

The same parliament, after thus resigning their religious liberties, surrendered up the civil; and subverted the constitution of England, by giving a proclamation from the king, the same force as an act of parliament.

The act of the six articles was no sooner passed, than the Catholics were so vigilant in informing against offenders, that in a little time no less than five hundred persons were thrown into prison. But Cromwell, though he had not interest sufficient to prevent that act, was able to elude its execution. Being seconded by the duke of Suffolk, archbishop Cranmer, and chancellor Audley, he remonstrated against the cruelty of punishing so many delinquents; and obtained permission to set them at liberty.

Immediately after the death of Jane Seymour, the king began to think of a new marriage; but having applied, without success, to obtain the dutchess dowager of Milan, the emperor's niece, and the dutchess dowager of Longueville, daughter of the duke of Guise, he was offered Mary of Bourbon, daughter of the duke of Vendome; and afterwards the two younger sisters of the queen of Scots: but these he rejected, and turned his thoughts towards a German alliance. As Henry was ob-  
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served to be much governed by his wives, while he retained his fondness for them, the final prevalence of either party seemed greatly to depend on the choice of his future queen; Cromwell, therefore, joyfully seconded his intention; and proposed to him Anne of Cleves, whose father, the duke of Cleves, had great interest among the Lutheran princes, and whose sister Sibylla, was married to the elector of Saxony, the head of the Protestant league. Henry, on seeing a flattering picture of her, applied to her father; and after some negotiation, the lady Anne was sent over to England. The king, impatient to be satisfied with respect to his bride's person, went privately and got a sight of her at Rochester. He found her as big and tall as he could wish, but void of beauty and grace, and very unlike the picture he had received; on which he swore, that she was a great Flanders mare, and he could never have any affection for her: he was still more provoked, when he found she could speak no language but Dutch, of which he knew not a word. He therefore returned very melancholy to Greenwich, and lamented his hard fate to Cromwell, lord Russell, Sir Anthony Brown, and Sir Anthony Denny; the last of whom endeavoured to comfort him, by observing, that his misfortune was common to that of all kings, who could not, like private persons, chuse for themselves, but were guided by the judgment and fancy of others.

It was then debated among the king's counsellors, whether the marriage might not be dissolved,

solved, and the princess sent back to her own country; but Henry being informed, that the emperor Charles had entrusted himself into the hands of Francis, who had received him at Paris with great magnificence and courtesy, and afterwards conducted him safely out of his dominions, imagined, that a cordial union had taken place between those princes; and was apprehensive, lest their religious zeal should make them unite their arms against England. This seemed to render an alliance with the German princes necessary for his interest and safety. He therefore completed the marriage on the 6th of January 1540. Cromwell, who was sensible how much his own interest was concerned in this affair, was the next morning very anxious to learn, whether the king liked his spouse any better. Henry told him, that he hated her worse than ever; that he suspected her not to be a maid, and resolved never more to meddle with her. He, however, treated his new queen with civility, and even appeared to repose his usual confidence in Cromwell, and soon after, created him earl of Essex and knight of the garter.

Notwithstanding this, both the king's favour to Cromwell, and his acquiescence in the marriage with Anne of Cleves, were insincere. His aversion to the queen daily increased; and at last, breaking thro' all restraint, it prompted him to dissolve the marriage, and to involve in ruin the minister who had been the innocent author of it. Other causes also served to hasten the fall of Cromwell. The nobility hated the  
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man, who, from a low extraction, had not only risen above them by his station of vicar-general, but enjoyed many other considerable offices, he being privy-seal, chamberlain, and master of the wards: besides which, he had obtained the order of the garter. The Catholics thought him an enemy to their religion. The Protestants observing his seeming concurrence in the persecutions carried on against them, reproached him with timidity, if not treachery; and Henry finding that great clamours had risen against the administration, was glad to throw the load of hatred on Cromwell, and hoped to regain the affections of his subjects by so easy a sacrifice.

There was still another cause of the ruin of this minister. Henry had fixed his affections on Catharine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk, and resolved to gratify this passion, by procuring a divorce from his present consort, and raising Catharine to his bed and throne. The duke, who was Cromwell's enemy, made use of her interest to ruin the minister, and obtained a commission from the king, to arrest him at the council-table, on a charge of high treason, and to commit him to the Tower. Immediately after, a bill of attainder was found against him; and the house of lords, without trial, examination, or evidence, condemned to death him, whom they had a few days before declared worthy to be vicar-general of the universe: but the house of commons did not pass the bill without some opposition. Cromwell strove, by the most humble supplications, to  
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soften the king ; and though he once wrote to him, in such a moving strain as to draw tears from his eyes, he hardened his heart against all the emotions of pity, and refused his pardon.

On the 28th of July, 1540, Cromwell was brought to the place of execution on Tower-hill ; when his regard for his son prevented his expatiating on his own innocence, as he knew that whatever he should say that might offend the king, would be resented on his son. He thanked God for bringing him to that death for his transgressions ; and desired the bystanders to pray for the king, the prince, and himself. Having spent a short time at his private devotions, he submitted his neck to the executioner, who mangled him in a shocking manner. Cromwell was a man of ability, prudence, and industry. Though the son of a blacksmith, and raised to the summit of power, he bore his prosperity with the greatest moderation : he never treated his inferiors with insolence and contempt ; and such was his integrity, that his enemies could fix no stain of corruption on his character. He was possessed of the greatest gratitude, and never forgot the obligations he had received during his humble fortune. When young, he had served as a private centinel in the Italian wars ; and then received some good offices from a Lucquese merchant, who had entirely forgot both his person, and the service he had rendered him. Cromwell, in the midst of his grandeur, happened to see his benefactor, who had been reduced by  
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misfortunes to a state of poverty ; and immediately sending for him, reminded him of their ancient friendship, and by his grateful and generous assistance, reinstated him in his former opulence.

Henry's divorce from Anne of Cleves was carried on at the same time with the bill of attainder against Cromwell. The convocation solemnly annulled the marriage, and the parliament having ratified the decision of the clergy, the princess was soon after informed of the sentence. Anne being blessed with a happy insensibility of temper, neither the king's aversion, nor the prosecution of the divorce, had given her the least concern ; and on the king's offering to adopt her as his sister ; to place her next the queen and his own daughter, and to settle three thousand pounds a year upon her, she accepted of the conditions, and gave her consent to the divorce. She, however, refused to return into her own country, and lived and died in England.

Soon after Henry's divorce from Anne of Cleves, he married Catharine Howard ; the ceremony being performed on the 8th of August following. The king's councils being now directed by Norfolk and Gardiner, the Protestants underwent a very severe persecution ; and the law of the six articles was rigorously executed. Dr. Barnes, who had occasioned the execution of Lambert, now in his turn suffered the effects of a persecuting spirit ; and was, without trial, condemned to the flames, together with Jerome and Gerrard. Henry, while he thus persecuted

ted the Protestants, used the same rigour, except burning, against those of the church of Rome who denied his supremacy; whence a foreigner, who was then in England, justly observed, that those who were against the pope were burned, and those who were for him were hanged. The king, on this occasion, displayed, in an ostentatious manner, this appearance of tyrannical impartiality. Barnes, Jerome, and Gerrard, were carried on three hurdles to the place of execution; and along with them, was placed a Catholic on each hurdle, who was also executed for his religion. These Catholics were Abel, Powell, and Featherstone, who declared, that the most grievous part of their punishment, was their being coupled with such heretical miscreants as suffered with them.

About the same time, an inconsiderable rebellion broke out in Yorkshire, headed by Sir John Nevill; but being soon suppressed, Nevill and the other officers were executed. As this rebellion was supposed to be owing to the intrigues of cardinal Pole, Henry resolved to make his mother, the countess of Salisbury, who already lay under sentence of death, suffer for her son's offences. On the 27th of May, he ordered her to be carried to execution; and in these distressful circumstances, this venerable matron still maintained the spirit of that long race of monarchs, from whom she was descended. She absolutely refused to lay her head on the block, and to submit to an unjust sentence, where she had received no trial; boldly telling the executioner, that if he would have her head,

he must win it the best way he could; and shaking her venerable grey locks, ran about the scaffold, while the executioner followed her with his axe, aiming many ineffectual strokes at her neck, before he could give her the fatal blow. Thus perished the daughter of the duke of Clarence, the last of the line of Plantagenet, which had governed England during the space of three hundred years. Soon after the countess of Salisbury's death, lord Leonard Grey, who had formerly rendered service to the crown, was also beheaded for treason.

The above insurrection in the north, induced Henry to make a progress thither in 1541, in order to quiet the minds of the people; he also proposed to have a conference at York with his nephew, the king of Scotland, to cement, if possible, an indissoluble union with that kingdom. The reformation had reached that kingdom, and the Protestants were every where persecuted with great cruelty, many being committed to the flames. This severity having an effect on the compassionate minds of the spectators, only served to encrease the number of those who embraced the doctrines of the reformation, till the minds of men became gradually disposed to a revolution in religion. Meanwhile the nobility, from the example of England, cast a wishful eye on the revenues of the church, and flattered themselves, that if a reformation took place, they should be enriched by the plunder of the ecclesiastics. James himself being poor, and inclined to magnificence in building, was swayed by the same motives,

and began to threaten the clergy with their undergoing the fate of those in the neighbouring country; Henry also incessantly exhorted him to imitate his example; and prevailed on him to promise to meet him at York.

The clergy, alarmed at James's resolution, made use of every expedient to prevent his putting it in execution. They represented the hazard of his putting himself into the hands of his hereditary enemies, the English; the subjection that would follow; his losing the friendship of France; the danger of innovations; and the pernicious consequences that would attend aggrandizing the nobility, who were already too powerful. They offered him a present gratuity of fifty thousand pounds, and promised, that the church should always be ready to contribute to his supply: they observed, that he might fill his exchequer with confiscating the fortunes of heretics, which would add a hundred thousand pounds a year to his revenues. These remonstrances being added to the insinuations of his new queen, James was engaged, first, to delay his journey, and then to send excuses to Henry, who had already come to York, in order to have an interview with him. The king of England was extremely vexed at the disappointment; and enraged at the affront. He vowed vengeance against his nephew, and began to put his threats in execution, by permitting piracies at sea, and ravaging the country by land.

Henry soon after discovered an affair in his own family, which affected him much more nearly,



nearly, in a point where he always shewed extreme delicacy. The agreeable person and disposition of Catharine, had entirely captivated his affections, and he thought himself very happy in his new marriage; but the queen's conduct was far from meriting his tenderness: one Lascelles informed Cranmer of her dissolute life, and that his sister, who was formerly a servant in the old dutchess of Norfolk's family, with whom Catharine was educated, had told him, that she admitted Derham and Monnock, two of the dutchess's servants, to her bed. This intelligence, which it was as dangerous to conceal as to discover, Cranmer communicated to the earl of Hertford and the chancellor; and they agreeing, that it ought not to be buried in silence, Cranmer wrote a narrative of the whole, and conveyed it to Henry, who was greatly astonished; and at first gave no credit to the information. However, the king's jealousy and impatience, happily for Cranmer, who was in a very dangerous situation, prompted him to search the affair to the bottom: the privy-seal was ordered to examine Lascelles, who persisted in what he had said, and appealing to his sister's testimony, that nobleman went to Suffex, where the woman resided, and found her extremely particular as to the facts. At the same time Monnock and Derham being arrested, and examined by the chancellor, rendered the queen's guilt entirely certain by their confession, and discovered other particulars. Three maids of the family were admitted into her secrets; and

some of them had even passed the night with her and her lovers. The king, on having all the examinations laid before him, was so deeply affected, that he continued for a long time speechless, and at last burst into tears. He was now surprized to find, that his skill in distinguishing a true maid, of which he had boasted in the case of Anne of Cleves, had failed him. The queen, on being next questioned, at first denied her guilt; but being informed, that a full discovery was made, she acknowledged, that she had been criminal before her marriage; but insisted, that she had never been false to the king's bed. Yet there being evidence, that one Colepepper had, since her marriage, passed a night with her alone, and that she had taken Derham, her old paramour, into her service, little credit was given to this assertion; and besides, the king was not of a humour to make any difference between these degrees of guilt.

Henry, in order to satiate his vengeance, assembled a parliament; and the two houses having received the queen's confession, presented an address to the king, in which they entreated him not to be vexed with this untoward accident, to which all men were subject; but desired leave to pass a bill of attainder against the queen and her accomplices; and begged him not to give his assent to the bill in person, which would renew his vexation, and might endanger his health; but by commissioners appointed for that purpose: and there being a law in force, by which it was

treason

treason to speak ill of the queen, they craved his royal pardon, if any of them should transgress that statute. On receiving a gracious answer, they voted a bill of attainder for treason against the queen, and the viscountess of Rocheford, who had conducted her secret amours; and in this bill were also comprehended Colepepper and Derham. They passed at the same time a bill of attainder for misprision of treason against the old dutchess of Norfolk, the queen's grandmother; her uncle lord William Howard and his lady; the countess of Bridgewater, and nine other persons, for knowing the queen's vicious course of life before her marriage, and yet concealing it; as if Henry could expect, that near relations could be so far insensible of natural affection and shame, as to reveal the secret disorders of their families. He, however, pardoned the dutchess of Norfolk, and most of the others condemned for misprision of treason, though some of them were long detained in confinement.

These and other laws being passed, the queen was beheaded on Tower-hill, together with lady Rocheford, behaving in a manner suitable to their dissolute lives; and lady Rocheford having been the principal instrument in procuring the death of Anne Boleyn, she died unpitied; and her guilt confirmed the favourable sentiments people had before entertained of that unfortunate queen.

Henry had, before this time, appointed a commission, consisting of two archbishops, se-

veral bishops, and a considerable number of doctors of divinity; and by virtue of his ecclesiastical supremacy, had entrusted them with the office of chusing a religion for his people. Before the commissioners had made any considerable progress in this affair, the parliament had, in the last year 1541, passed a law, by which they ratified all the tenets which these divines should afterwards establish with the king's consent; and thus were not ashamed of expressly declaring, that they took their religion upon trust, and had no other rule in spiritual concerns than the arbitrary will of Henry. Soon after a small volume was published, called the Institution of a Christian Man, which was received by the convocation, and voted to be the standard of orthodoxy. In this work the sacraments, which, a few years before, were allowed to be only three, were again encreased to seven, agreeable to the sentiments of the Romish church. Soon after, the people had an opportunity of seeing another instance of the king's inconstancy; for not being long satisfied with his Institution of a Christian Man, he ordered a new book to be composed, called the Erudition of a Christian Man, and published this new model of orthodoxy by his own authority, and that of the parliament. It differs from the former work; but Henry was no less positive in his new, than he had been in his old creed, and required the faith of the nation to veer about at his signals. In both these works, he took particular care to inculcate the doctrine of passive obedience.

obedience. Thus Henry, by entering into scholastic disputes, by his example, induced the people to apply to the study of divinity ; and it was in vain for him, notwithstanding his arguments, creed and penal statutes, to expect to bring his subjects, however fear might restrain their tongues and pens, to a cordial agreement with his religious sentiments.

Henry was determined to avenge himself on the king of Scotland, for slighting the advances he had made. He complained of James's breach of word, in declining the promised interview ; and to give a more specious colour to his hostilities, observed, that his nephew had granted protection to some English rebels, and detained territories belonging to England ; he also revived the old claim to the vassalage of Scotland, and summoned James to do homage to him as his liege lord. James, on being apprized of his uncle's intention, began to put himself in a posture of defence, and sent two ambassadors to London, with proposals for an accommodation. These were, under various pretences, detained at the court of England, till Henry was ready to take the field ; and were even then obliged to attend the army sent into their country, under the command of the duke of Norfolk, whom Henry called the Scourge of the Scots. James had posted a considerable body, commanded by the earl of Huntley, to protect the borders of his kingdom ; and Lord Hume was hastening with his vassals to join Huntley, when meeting with the English army, an action ensued.

During

During the engagement, the forces commanded by Huntley began to appear; on which the English, dreading lest they should be surrounded, took to flight, and were pursued by the enemy. Several persons of distinction were taken prisoners, but only a few of small note fell in this skirmish.

Mean while the duke of Norfolk moved from his camp at Newcastle, and advanced to the borders, at the head of above twenty thousand men. James had assembled his whole military force at Sautrey and Fala, in order to advance as soon as he should hear that Norfolk had invaded his kingdom. The English having passed the Tweed at Berwick, marched along the banks of the river to Kelso, when hearing that James was at the head of near thirty thousand men, they repassed the river at that village, and retreated into England. James gave the signal for pursuing them, and carrying the war into their own country; but was surprized to find that his nobility opposed this resolution, and refused to attend him. Exasperated at this mutiny, he reproached them with cowardice, and threatened, that he would be revenged. He was still determined to enter the enemy's country with the forces which still adhered to him; and sent ten thousand men to the western borders, who entered England at Salway-frith, while he himself followed them at a small distance, that he might be ready to join them. Being, however, disgusted at the refractory disposition of the nobles, he sent to deprive lord Maxwell, the general,



neral, of his commission, and conferred the command on his favourite, Oliver Sinclair, a private gentleman. This extremely displeased the army, which was ready to disband, when a small body of English, not exceeding five hundred men, appeared under the command of Dacres and Musgrave. The Scots were now seized with a panic, and immediately fled, while the English pursued them, and took many prisoners, among whom were the earls of Glencairn and Cassilis, with the lords Maxwell, Grey, Oliphant, Fleming, and Somerville, who were all sent to London. This route happened on the 24th of November 1542.

James was struck with astonishment on his hearing of this disaster, and being of a high spirit, and at the same time of a melancholy disposition, he lost all command of his temper. His rage against his nobility, by whom he imagined he had been betrayed; his shame at his army being defeated by such unequal numbers, with his dread of the consequence, had such an effect upon him, that he would admit of no consolation, but entirely abandoned himself to despair. His body wasted away, his death evidently approached, and he had no issue living; when hearing that his queen was safely delivered, he asked, whether the child was a male or a female; and being told the latter, he turned himself in his bed, saying, "The crown came with a woman, and it will go with one. Many miseries await this poor kingdom: Henry will make it his own, either by force of arms or by  
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“ marriage.” A few days after he expired, on the 14th of December 1542, in the flower of his age. James V. was a prince of considerable abilities and virtues, whose personal courage and vigilance, fitted him for repressing those disorders to which Scotland, during that age, was so much exposed. He took care that justice was administered with impartiality and rigour; but as he supported the church and the common people against the rapine of the nobility, he did not escape the hatred of that order.

No sooner was Henry informed of his nephew's death, than, as James had foreseen, he projected the scheme of uniting Scotland to his own dominions, by marrying his son Edward, to the heiress of that kingdom. Having called together the Scotch noblemen, who were his prisoners, he severely reproached them for their pretended breach of treaty; and then softening his tone, proposed this marriage as a means of preventing, for the future, those disorders so prejudicial to both kingdoms; offering to restore them to liberty, without ransom, on condition of their favouring the marriage. They readily assented to this proposal; and being conducted to Newcastle, delivered hostages to the duke of Norfolk for their return, if the intended nuptials should not be completed; and thence proceeded to Scotland, where affairs were in much confusion.

Cardinal Beaton, the primate, had long been considered as prime minister to James, and was at the head of the party which defended

fended the privileges of the ecclesiastics. He had now put himself in possession of the government, and with the assistance of the queen-dowager, obtained the consent of a convention of the states; while James Hamilton, earl of Arran, who claimed that honour, was excluded. This nobleman was next heir to the crown by his grandmother, the daughter of James III. and therefore seemed best intitled to possess the high office into which the cardinal had intruded himself. The prospect of his succeeding the infant princess, procured him many partizans. He was of a moderate genius, of a quiet disposition, and favoured the reformation; whence those who zealously promoted it, were attached to him. By means of these adherents, joined to the vassals of his own family, and the noblemen who had been prisoners in England, he so effectually opposed the cardinal's administration, that he was declared governor; at the same time the cardinal was committed to custody, under the care of lord Seton; and a negotiation was commenced for the marriage of the infant queen with the prince of Wales.

But the cardinal-primate having prevailed on Seton to restore him to liberty, assembled the most considerable ecclesiastics; and representing the imminent danger to which they were exposed, persuaded them to collect privately a large sum of money from the clergy; by means of which he engaged to overturn the schemes of their enemies. The partizans he acquired by pecuniary motives, represented the

the union with England, as the certain fore-runner of ruin to the church; and Sadler, the English ambassador, received many insults from persons whom the cardinal, in hopes of bringing on a rupture, instigated to commit those acts of violence. Sadler, however, prudently dissembled the matter, till the day appointed for the delivery of the hostages, and then summoned those who had been restored to liberty, to fulfil their promise of returning into captivity; but none of them performed their engagements except Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Cassilis. The behaviour of this nobleman gave such satisfaction to Henry, that he received him graciously, honoured him with presents, and giving him his liberty, sent him back to Scotland with his two brothers, whom he had left as hostages.

Cardinal Beaton now applied to France, and obtained the promise of a supply of money, and, if necessary, of military succours: on which Arran, the governor, assembled his friends, and attempted to get the person of the infant queen into his custody; but being repulsed, was obliged to come to an accommodation with his enemies.

The opposition Henry met with in Scotland, having excited his resentment, confirmed him in the resolution he had before taken of uniting his arms to those of the emperor, who earnestly courted his alliance. A league was therefore formed, in which the two monarchs agreed to enter Francis's dominions, each with an army of twenty-five thousand men, and to require

require that prince to pay Henry all the sums he owed him, and to give Andres, Terouenne, Montreuil, and Boulogne, as a security for the regular payment of his pension for the future. If these conditions were rejected, they agreed to challenge, for Henry, the crown of France, or at least the dutchies of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Guienne; and for Charles, the dutchy of Burgundy, and some other territories.

In the mean time the king married Catharine Par, the widow of Nevill, lord Latimer, a woman of virtue, and somewhat inclined to the reformation; and from this marriage, the hopes of the reformers again began to revive.

The campaign in France was opened by the duke of Cleves, Francis's ally, gaining a victory over the emperor's forces. Francis in person made himself master of the whole dutchy of Luxemburgh, without resistance; and afterwards taking Landrecy, added some fortifications to it. Charles at last assembled a powerful army in the Netherlands, and having taken almost every fortress in the dutchy of Cleves, reduced the duke to submit to such terms as he was pleased to prescribe. Being then joined by six thousand English, he invested Landrecy, and covered the siege with an army of upwards of forty thousand men. Francis advanced at the head of an army which was but little inferior; as if he intended to give battle to the emperor, or to force him to raise the siege: but while the two armies were facing each other, the French king found an

opportunity of throwing succours into Landrecy, and then made a skilful retreat; on which Charles, finding the season far advanced, went into winter quarters.

The winter season preventing Henry's engaging in military operations, he summoned a new parliament, which met on the 14th of January 1544, and after declaring the prince of Wales, or any of the king's male issue, first and immediate heir to the crown, restored the princesses Mary and Elizabeth to their right of succession: yet Henry would not allow the act to be reversed, which had declared them illegitimate; but prevailed on the parliament to confer on him the power of still excluding them, if they refused to submit to any conditions he should be pleased to impose on them.

In this parliament, the law of the six articles was mitigated; and it was enacted, that no person should be tried upon any accusation for offences comprized in that sanguinary statute, except on the oath of twelve persons: that no person should be arrested for any such offence before he was indicted; and that any preacher, charged with speaking in his sermon contrary to these articles, must be indicted within forty days.

In this session of parliament, Henry made no mention of a supply; but as his wars both in France and Scotland, together with his usual prodigality, had involved him in great expence, he filled his exchequer by other methods. Though he had a little before caused all his debts to be abolished, he required new  
loans



loans from his subjects, and raised the price of gold from forty-five shillings, to forty-eight shillings an ounce; and silver from three shillings and nine pence, to four shillings an ounce. He even coined some base money, and ordered it, by proclamation, to pass current. He appointed commissioners for levying a benevolence, by which he extorted about seventy thousand pounds from the people. Read, alderman of London, refusing to contribute his share, or not coming up to the expectation of the commissioners, was enrolled as a foot soldier, and sent with the army into Scotland, where he was taken prisoner. Roach, who had been equally refractory, was cast into prison, and obliged to pay a large composition before he could recover his liberty. Thus all the valuable privileges of Englishmen were sacrificed to the lawless will of a tyrant.

The same year Henry invaded Scotland by sea, with a fleet consisting of near two hundred vessels, on board of which were ten thousand men. The sea forces were commanded by Dudley, lord Lisle, and the land forces by the earl of Hertford. The troops disembarked near Leith; and having dispersed a small body by which they were opposed, took that town without resistance, and marched to Edinburgh, which they first pillaged, and then set on fire. The regent and cardinal, who were now reconciled, fled to Stirling. Hertford now marching eastward, being joined by a new body of forces under Evers, warden of the east-marches, laid waste the whole country;

and having burned Haddington and Dunbar, returned into England, after having lost only forty men in the whole expedition. The earl of Arran having at last collected some forces, and finding that the English were already gone, turned his arms against Lenox, who was justly suspected of carrying on a correspondence with the enemy; upon which that nobleman, after making some resistance, fled into England, where Henry not only settled a pension on him, but gave him in marriage lady Margaret Douglas, his own niece.

Henry had now concerted a plan with the emperor, which threatened the total ruin of France. They agreed to invade that kingdom with above a hundred thousand men. Henry was to set out from Calais, and Charles from the Netherlands; and leaving all the frontier towns behind them, were to march directly to Paris, and having there joined their forces, were to proceed to the entire conquest of the kingdom.

Henry, after his having appointed the queen regent during his absence, passed over to Calais on the 14th of July 1544, at the head of thirty thousand men, accompanied by the principal nobility of the kingdom; and was soon joined by the count de Buren, admiral of Flanders, with four thousand horse and ten thousand foot.

Charles had taken the field much earlier than Henry, with an army of near sixty thousand men; and while he waited for Henry's arrival, took Luxemburg, Commercy, and  
Ligny;

Ligny; and then laid siege to St. Disier, on the Marne, which made a brave resistance.

While Charles was employed in the siege of this town, the English forces assembled in Picardy; on which Henry, instead of marching forward to Paris, laid siege to Boulogne; and the duke of Norfolk to Montrueil. During the course of this siege, Charles had taken St. Disier, when finding the season much advanced, and that all his schemes for subduing France were likely to prove abortive, he listened to terms of accommodation with Francis; and to obtain a pretence for deserting his ally, sent a messenger to require Henry to meet him with his army before Paris. Henry answered, that he could not raise the siege of Boulogne with honour, and that Charles had first broken the agreement, by besieging St. Disier. The emperor, upon receiving this answer, concluded a peace with Francis at Crepy, in which no mention was made of England. After which, he ordered his troops to separate from the English in Picardy. Henry, who had taken Boulogne, was now obliged to raise the siege of Montrueil, and returned into England.

Mean while the war with Scotland was conducted feebly, and with various success; and principally consisted in inroads made by the English into that country. At length the Scottish leaders, in order to induce their troops to make a steady defence, ordered all their cavalry to dismount, and resolved to wait the assault of the English, on some high grounds near Ancram. The English, whose past suc-

cesses had made them despise the enemy, on seeing the Scotch horses led off the field, thought the whole army was retiring, and hastened to attack them. The Scots received them in good order; and being favoured by the surprise of the English, who expected no resistance, and also by the advantage of the ground, soon put them to flight, and pursued them with great slaughter. Evers and Latoun, the two English commanders, were both slain, and above a thousand men made prisoners. This victory was obtained by the Scots on the seventeenth of February 1545.

Some time after, Francis sent the Scots three thousand five hundred auxiliaries; on which the governor assembled an army of fifteen thousand men at Haddington; then marching to the eastern borders of England, laid waste the country wherever he came with little resistance; after which he returned into Scotland, and disbanded his army. The earl of Hertford revenged this insult, by ravaging the middle and west marches.

The war between England and France was this year distinguished by no memorable event. But the great expence of these two wars obliged Henry to summon a new parliament, in which the commons granted him a subsidy, payable in two years, of two shillings in the pound on land: those who possessed goods or money of above the value of five pounds and below ten, were to pay eight-pence a pound; and those above ten pounds, a shilling: the clergy likewise voted him six shillings in the pound.

pound. By a vote of parliament, was also bestowed on the king all the revenues of the universities, as well as of the chantries, free-chapels, and hospitals. Henry, however, having no intention to destroy the seminaries of learning, took care to inform the universities, that he did not mean to seize their revenues. The king, on proroguing this parliament, made them a speech in person; in which, after returning them thanks for their loving attachment to him, he complained of the disputes that prevailed in religion. He told them, that the pulpits were become a kind of batteries against each other; that the preachers reproached their brethren, by calling them heretics and anabaptists, which was returned by the opprobrious names of papists and hypocrites. That he had allowed his people the use of the scriptures, not to furnish them with materials for dispute and railing, but to inform their consciences, and instruct their children and families: that he was grieved to the heart, to find how that precious jewel was prostituted, by being introduced into the conversation of every tavern and alehouse; and employed to decry the spiritual and legal pastors; and that he was sorry to observe, that while the word of God became the subject of so much speculation, it had very little influence on their practice.

The next year a peace was concluded between France and England, which afforded Henry leisure to attend to domestic affairs. Though he had allowed an English translation  
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of the Bible, he had hitherto kept the mass in Latin ; but was at last prevailed on to permit the Litany, a considerable part of the service, to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue. One petition of the new Litany was a prayer to *save us from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and from all his detestable enormities*. Cranmer endeavoured to induce Henry to make farther innovations, and to take advantage of the absence of Gardiner, who was sent on an embassy to Charles : but Gardiner writing to the king, that the emperor threatened to break off all intercourse with him, if he carried his opposition to the Romish religion to greater extremities, the success of Cranmer's projects was for some time retarded.

This year Cranmer lost his most sincere and powerful friend, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. The queen dowager of France, Suffolk's consort, had died some years before. This nobleman found, that Henry was not incapable of a cordial and steady friendship ; and indeed he was worthy of his master's favour, which he had enjoyed from his earliest youth. The king was informed of Suffolk's death, when sitting in council ; and immediately expressed his own sorrow for the loss, and extolled the merits of the deceased. He declared, that during the whole course of their friendship, his brother-in-law had never once attempted to injure an adversary ; and had never whispered a word to the disadvantage of any man. He then added, " Is there any of  
 " you, my lords, who can say as much of  
 " your-



"yourselves?" Then looking round in all their faces, saw the consciousness of secret guilt in their confusion.

Cranmer being deprived of this support, became exposed to the cabals of the courtiers. The catholics represented to Henry, that the ill success of his laudable zeal for enforcing the truth, was entirely owing to the primate, whose example and encouragement were the secret supports of heresy. Henry seeming to yield, desired the council to enquire into Cranmer's conduct. The primate being now considered by every body as lost, his old friends, as well as his enemies, began to treat him with neglect. He was obliged to stand among the servants several hours at the door of the council-chamber, before he was admitted; and was then told, that they had determined to send him to the Tower. Cranmer instantly appealed to the king himself; but finding his appeal disregarded, he produced a ring which he had received from Henry, as a pledge of his favour and protection. The council were now confounded; and on their coming before the king, he severely reproved them; observing, that he was well acquainted with the primate's merit, as well as with their malignity and envy; but was determined to curb all their cabals; and since gentle methods were ineffectual, he would teach them, by the severest discipline, a more dutiful concurrence in promoting his service. The duke of Norfolk, Cranmer's principal enemy, apologized for their conduct, and declared, that their only intention

tention was to set the primate's innocence in a full light, by bringing him to an open trial. Henry, however, obliged them all to embrace him, as a proof of their cordial reconciliation.

Though Henry thus extended his favour to Cranmer, his pride and peevishness, which was encreased by his declining state of health, induced him to punish, with fresh severity, all others who presumed to differ from him in opinion, particularly of the real presence. Anne Ascue, a young woman of beauty and merit, who had great connections with the principal ladies of the court, was accused of reasoning on that delicate subject; and the king, instead of paying the least regard to her sex and age, was the more provoked, that a woman should dare to oppose his sentiments. Bonner, by his menaces, prevailed on her to make a seeming recantation, which she qualified with some reserves, which not satisfying that zealous prelate, she was thrown into prison. She there composed prayers and discourses to strengthen her resolution to suffer, rather than relinquish her religious principles. She even wrote to the king, telling him, that as to the Lord's Supper, she believed all that Christ himself had said of it; but as she could not be brought to acknowledge her assent to the king's explanations, this declaration was considered as a fresh insult. Wriothesely, who was then chancellor, and was much attached to the catholic party, was sent to examine her, with respect to her patrons at court: but she was so faithful to her friends, that she would confess nothing.

thing. She was then put to the torture in the most barbarous manner, yet still continued resolute in her resolution not to betray her friends. Some authors add, that the chancellor, who stood by, ordered the lieutenant of the Tower to stretch the rack still farther; but that officer refused: the chancellor threatened him, but met with a fresh refusal: upon which that magistrate, though otherwise a person of merit, was so intoxicated with religious zeal, that he put his own hand to the rack, and drew it with such violence, that he almost tore her body asunder, yet her constancy still exceeded the barbarity of her persecutors, and baffled all their efforts. She was then condemned to be burned alive; but her limbs being so dislocated by the rack that she could not stand, she was carried in a chair to the stake. With her were conducted John Laffels, one of the king's household, Nicholas Belenian, a priest, and John Adams, a taylor, who had been sentenced to suffer the same punishment for the same crime. When they were all tied to the stake, the chancellor sent to inform them, that their pardon was ready drawn and signed; and if they would merit it by a recantation, it should instantly be given them. They, however, only considered this affair as a new ornament to their crown of martyrdom; and beheld with tranquility the executioner kindling the flames by which they were to be consumed.

Though Anne Ascue's fidelity saved the queen on this occasion, that princess soon after narrowly escaped being rained. From the  
king's

king's extreme corpulency and ill habit of body, an ulcer, which had broken out in his leg, began to threaten his life, and to encrease his peevishness and passionate disposition. Mean while the queen attended him with the most tender and dutiful care; endeavouring, by every soothing art and compliance, to allay those gusts of humour to which he was subject. His conversation chiefly turned on religious opinions; and Catharine, who was enabled by her good sense to talk upon any subject, frequently engaged in the conversation; and being secretly inclined to the principles of the reformers, on these occasions unwarily discovered too much of her mind. Henry, provoked at her presuming to differ from him, complained of her obstinacy to Gardiner, who, glad to enflame the quarrel, praised the king's anxious concern for preserving the orthodoxy of his subjects; and observed, that the more elated, and the nearer to him was the person chastised, the greater terror would be struck by the example; and the more glorious would the sacrifice appear to posterity. The chancellor, on being consulted, corroborated Gardiner's opinion; and Henry, hurried on by his impetuous temper, and encouraged by his counsellors, ordered articles of impeachment to be drawn up against her. This was done by the chancellor, who soon after brought the paper for him to sign: for, it being high treason to slander the queen, he might otherwise have been punished for his rashness. This important paper, by some means, fell into the hands

hands of one of the queen's friends, who instantly informed her of it. She was sensible of her extreme danger, but did not despair of eluding the efforts of her enemies; and paying her usual visit to the king, found him in a more serene temper than she expected. He began to discourse on his favourite subject, and seemed to challenge her to enter upon it; but she gently declined the conversation, and observed, that such profound speculations were ill suited to the natural weakness of her sex. Women, by their first creation, she said, were made subject to men: the male was created after the image of God, the female after the image of the male: it was for the husband to chuse principles for his wife, and the duty of the wife to adopt implicitly, the sentiments of her husband; and as to herself, it was doubly her duty, from her being blessed with a husband, who, by his judgment and learning, was not only qualified to chuse principles for his own family, but for the most wise and knowing of every nation. "Not so, by St. Mary," replied the king. "You are now become a doctor, Kate; and better fitted to give than receive instruction." To this she meekly replied, that she was sensible how little she was entitled to these praises; that though she did not usually decline any conversation, however sublime, when it was proposed by his majesty, she was sensible, that her thoughts could be of no other service, but to give him a little momentary amusement; that she found conversation was apt to languish, when it was

not revived by some opposition, and she sometimes ventured to pretend to be of contrary sentiments, in order to give him the pleasure of refuting her; and by this innocent artifice, she also proposed to engage him to discourse on topics, whence she had observed, by frequent experience, that she reaped profit and instruction. “And is it so, sweet heart?” replied the king, “then we are perfect friends again.” He then embraced her with great affection, and sent her away with assurances of his kindness and protection.

The next day her enemies, who were unacquainted with this sudden change, prepared to convey her to the Tower, agreeably to the king's warrant. Henry and Catharine were conversing amicably in the garden, when the chancellor appeared with forty of the pursuivants. The king went to him, as he stood at some distance, and seemed to reproach him in the severest terms: for she overheard him call him knave, fool, and beast; and at length ordered him to depart his presence. She afterwards interposed, to mitigate the king's anger; on which he cried, “Poor soul, you know not how ill entitled this man is to your good offices.” The queen from thenceforward took great care not to offend Henry by the least contradiction; and Gardiner, who had maliciously endeavoured to widen the breach, could never after regain his favour.

Soon after, Henry's tyrannical disposition broke out against the duke of Norfolk, who, during his whole reign, had distinguished him-  
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self by his services. In his youth he had acquired reputation by his naval enterprizes: he had greatly contributed to the defeat of the Scots at Flouden; he had suppressed a dangerous rebellion in the north, and had distinguished himself in all the expeditions against France. The favours heaped on him by the crown, had acquired him an immense estate: Henry had successively married two of his nieces; and the duke of Richmond, who was the king's natural son, had married his daughter: besides, he was descended from the Moubrays, by which he was allied to the crown; and by a female was descended from Edward III. He was also the head of the catholic party. These circumstances, raised the jealousy of Henry, who apprehended danger during his son's minority to the new ecclesiastical system, and the public tranquillity, from the attempt of so powerful a subject. The king had also entertained strong prejudices against that nobleman's son, the earl of Surrey, who was distinguished by every accomplishment that became a scholar, a soldier, and a courtier. He had made some successful attempts in poetry; and being seized with the romantic gallantry of that age, had, in every masque and tournament, celebrated the praises of his mistress, by his pen and his lance: he encouraged the fine arts by his patronage and example: he excelled in all military exercises; and his spirit and ambition were equal to his talents and his quality. He had been left governor of Boulogne, and the king being somewhat displeased with his conduct,

had sent over Hertford to command in his place ; but he was so imprudent as to drop some menacing expressions against the ministers who had put this affront upon him. Henry also imagined that he had entertained views of marrying his daughter, the lady Mary.

The king, actuated by these motives, gave private orders to arrest Norfolk and Surrey, who were instantly confined in the Tower. Surrey being a commoner, his trial was more expeditious. He was accused of entertaining some Italians in his family, who were suspected to be spies ; one of his servants had visited cardinal Pole in Italy, whence it was suspected, that he held a correspondence with that prelate ; he had quartered on his escutcheon the arms of Edward the Confessor, whence he was suspected of aspiring to the crown ; though both he and his ancestors had, during the course of many years, maintained that practice ; and it had even been justified by the authority of the heralds. For these pretended crimes, the jury, notwithstanding his making an eloquent and spirited defence, condemned him on the 12th of December, 1546, for high treason, and he was soon after executed.

The duke of Norfolk's innocence was, if possible, still more apparent than that of his son. His dutchess, with whom he lived on bad terms, had been so base, as to inform his enemies of every thing she knew against him ; as did also Elizabeth Holland, his mistress : yet his accusers could discover no greater crime, than his once saying that Henry was sickly,  
and

and could not hold out long ; and the kingdom, from the diversity of religious opinions, was likely to fall into disorders. He wrote a most pathetic letter to the king, protesting his innocence, and pleading his past services : but soon after the house of peers, without trial or evidence, passed a bill of attainder against the duke, and sent it down to the commons. Tho' Cranmer had, for many years, been of the opposite party, and had received many and great injuries from Norfolk, he would have no hand in so unjust a prosecution, and retired to his seat at Croydon. Henry now approached the verge of life, and fearing lest Norfolk should escape him, he sent to desire the commons to hasten the bill : they obeyed, and the king having affixed the royal assent to it by commission, issued orders for Norfolk's execution, on the morning of the 29th of January. But news arriving at the Tower that the king had expired that night, the lieutenant deferred obeying the warrant ; and the council not thinking it advisable, to begin a new reign with the death of the greatest nobleman in the kingdom, he was spared.

For several days, all about the king had perceived his end approaching : but he was become so froward, that no one dared to inform him of his condition ; and as some persons, during this reign, had suffered the punishment of traitors, for foretelling his death, all were afraid, lest, in the transports of his fury, he should, on this pretence, inflict death on the author of such friendly intelligence. Sir An-

thony Denny at last ventured to inform him of the fatal secret, and to exhort him to prepare for his dissolution. He heard him with patience, expressed his resignation, and desired that Cranmer might be sent for; but before his arrival he was speechless, though he appeared to retain his senses. Cranmer desired him to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ; on which he squeezed his hand, and immediately expired, on the 28th of January, 1547, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign.

Henry had made his will near a month before his decease; in which he confirmed the decree of parliament, by leaving the crown to prince Edward and his issue, then to the lady Mary, and next to the lady Elizabeth; but obliged the two princesses not to marry without the consent of the council he appointed for the government of his minor son, under the penalty of forfeiting their title to the crown. After his own children, he settled the succession on Frances Brandon, marchioness of Dorset, the eldest daughter of his sister, the French queen; and then on the second daughter, Eleanor, countess of Cumberland; thus passing over the posterity of his eldest sister, the queen of Scotland. He left money for masses to be said for delivering his soul from purgatory, though he had destroyed every institution his ancestors and others had established for the supposed benefit of their souls; and though, in all the articles of faith he had published during his

his latter years, he had left the doctrine of there being such a place as purgatory doubtful.

This king was extremely different from himself in different parts of his reign; and yet, notwithstanding his cruelty, extortion, violence, and arbitrary administration, he, in a great measure, acquired the regard of his subjects, and was never the object of their hatred. His exterior qualities were, indeed, advantageous, and fit to captivate the multitude; for his magnificence and personal bravery rendered him illustrious in the eyes of the vulgar. He possessed great vigour of mind, courage, intrepidity, vigilance, and inflexibility, and was not entirely destitute of virtues; he was sincere, open, gallant, liberal, and capable of friendship; and though these qualities were not always guided by a regular and solid judgment, they were accompanied with great abilities, and an extensive capacity; whence every one dreaded to incur the resentment of a prince who was never known to forgive, and who was constantly determined either to ruin himself or his antagonist. The regard which he acquired among foreign nations, is a circumstance which entitles him, in some degree, to the appellation of a great prince; while the tyranny, the barbarity, and the absolute uncontrolled authority he maintained at home, will not admit of his being termed a good one. A list of his vices would contain many of those that are most dishonourable to human nature: injustice, violence, cruelty, pride, arrogance, obitnacy, profusion,

profusion, rapacity, presumption, caprice, and bigotry. He wrested the supremacy from the bishop of Rome, and beheaded or hanged those who thought the pope head of the church: he condemned to the flames those who dared to dispute the doctrine of transubstantiation; and setting up his own opinions as the standard of orthodoxy, with unremitting cruelty, put to death those who presumed to call in question the opinions he retained or adopted. He suppressed the monasteries to supply his extravagance with their spoils, yet attempted to continue the celibacy of the clergy. In short, he was a tyrant, whose arbitrary proceedings, and whose vices, were directed by the hand of providence to prepare the way for the reformation.

#### MISCELLANEOUS INCIDENTS.

The countenance given to letters by Henry and his ministers, contributed to render learning fashionable in England; and Erasmus mentions, with great satisfaction, the general regard paid by the nobility and gentry, to men of knowledge. As the king himself had some talent for letters, he encouraged the same talent in others, and founded Trinity college in Cambridge, to which he gave ample endowments. Wolsey founded Christ church, in Oxford, which he intended to call Cardinal-college: but upon his fall, before he had entirely finished his scheme, all the revenues were seized by the king; and this violence is said to have given that minister greater concern than all his other misfortunes. Henry, however, afterwards



wards restored its revenues, and only changed its name. Wolsey founded in Oxford the first chair for teaching Greek; and this novelty rent that university into violent factions, which frequently came to blows. The students, says Mr. Hume, divided themselves into parties, which bore the name of Greeks and Trojans; and sometimes fought with as great animosity, as was formerly exercised by those hostile nations. There being introduced a new and correct method of pronouncing Greek, this divided the Grecians themselves into parties, in which the Catholics favoured the former pronunciation, and the Protestants the new. Gardiner made use of the authority of the king and council, to suppress these innovations; and those who laid aside the corrupt sound of the Greek alphabet, were to undergo the penalties of whipping, degradation, and expulsion; the bishop declaring that, rather than permit the liberty of making any innovation in the pronunciation of the Greek alphabet, it were better that the language itself should be totally banished the universities.

During this age, the only expedient employed to support the military spirit, was the revival and extension of some old laws for the encouragement of archery. Every man was ordered to have a bow; and butts were erected in every parish: it was ordered that every bowyer, for each bow of yew which he made, should make two of elm, for the service of the common people; and the use of cross-bows and hand-guns were prohibited. The English  
bow-

bow-men were rendered formidable by their also carrying halberts, which enabled them, upon occasion, to engage in close fight with the enemy. Frequent arrays or musters were made of the people, even in time of peace; and all men of substance were obliged to have a complete suit of armour or harness, as it was termed: for, during that age, the martial spirit of the English was thought to render this sufficient for the defence of the nation, without any standing army.

In this reign, attempts were made to fix the wages of artificers: luxury in apparel was prohibited by repeated statutes; and the chancellor and other ministers were empowered to fix the price of poultry, cheese, and butter. A statute was also passed, to fix the price of beef, veal, pork, and mutton: beef and pork were ordered to be sold at a half-penny a pound, mutton and veal at a half-penny half a farthing, the money of that age. In 1544, an acre of good land in Cambridgeshire, let at a shilling, which was about fifteen pence of our present money.

It was not till the end of this reign, that either fallads, turnips, carrots, or other edible roots, were produced in England; all these vegetables being formerly imported from Flanders and Holland. When queen Catharine wanted a fallad, she was obliged to send a messenger thither on purpose. The planting of hops, and the use of them, were introduced from Flanders about the beginning of this reign, or the end of that of Henry VII.

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The English artificers, in general, were much surpassed in dexterity, industry, and frugality, by the foreigners: hence arose violent animosities, in which the former complained that all their customers left them, and went to foreign tradesmen. In 1517, the English artificers being moved by the seditious sermons of one Dr. Bele, and the intrigues of Lincoln, a broker, raised an insurrection in London, in which the apprentices and others began by breaking open the prisons, where some persons were confined for insulting foreigners. They then proceeded to the house of Meutas, a Frenchman, where they killed some of his servants, and plundered his goods. Neither the mayor, nor Sir Thomas More, late under-sheriff, so greatly respected in the city, were able to appease them: they even threatened cardinal Wolsey, who was obliged to fortify his house. Tired at last with these disorders, they dispersed; when some of them were seized by the earls of Shrewsbury and Surrey. A proclamation was then issued, that women should not meet together to babble and talk; and that all men should keep their wives in their houses. The next day the duke of Norfolk entered the city, at the head of thirteen hundred armed men, and enquired into the tumult; on which Bele, Lincoln, and several others, were sent to the Tower, and condemned for treason. Lincoln and thirteen others were executed; and the other criminals, amounting to four hundred, were brought before the king, with ropes about their necks; when falling on their knees, they

they cried for mercy ; on which Henry dismissed them, without farther punishment.

In 1546, a law was made for fixing the interest of money at ten per cent, which was the first legal interest known in England. All loans of that nature were formerly considered as usurious. The interest of money was, in the preamble of this very act, treated as illegal and criminal ; and the prejudices against it still remained so strong, that, in the following reign, the law permitting interest was repealed.

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**EDWARD VI.**

*J. Collier sc.*



## C H A P. III.

## E D W A R D VI.

*The Regency. Hertford made Protector. The Reformation carried on, notwithstanding Gardiner's Opposition. Foreign Affairs. The Murder of Cardinal Beaton. The War with Scotland, and the Battle of Pinkey. Somerset causes several Statutes, destructive of religious and civil Liberty, to be repealed. Cabals of Lord Seymour and Dudley, Earl of Warwick. Lord Seymour beheaded. Persecutions carried on by the Protestants. Insurrections in several Counties suppressed. The Conduct of the War with Scotland. Warwick prosecutes Somerset. A Peace with France and Scotland. Warwick being created Duke of Northumberland, again prosecutes Somerset, who is tried, condemned, and executed. The Succession changed. The King's Sickness, Death, and Character.*

**E**DWARD VI. at the time of his father's death, resided at Hertford, with his sister Elizabeth, from whence he was conducted to the Tower of London, by the earl of Hertford and Sir Thomas Brown, where he was received by the council in a body, and proclaimed king of England. The next day, the late king's will being opened, it appeared that Edward's

VOL. VII. I majority

majority was fixed at the completion of his eighteenth year; and as the prince was then only a few months past nine, Henry appointed sixteen executors, to whom were entrusted the government of the king and kingdom, during the minority. To the sixteen executors, with whom was entrusted the whole regal authority, were appointed twelve counsellors, who were to possess no immediate power, and could only give their advice in such affairs as were laid before them. It is very remarkable, that Henry appointed several persons among his executors of an inferior station, and yet gave only the place of counsellor to the earl of Arundel, and to the king's uncle, Sir Thomas Seymour.

No sooner were the executors and counsellors met, than they departed from the late king's appointment, in a principal article. It was suggested, that the dignity of the government required, that one of the number should be chosen, who might represent the royal majesty, receive addresses from foreign ambassadors, receive dispatches from English ministers abroad, and whose name might be used in all orders and proclamations; and as the king's will appeared to be defective in this particular, it was thought necessary to supply this defect by choosing a protector, who should possess all the exterior marks of royal dignity, yet should be obliged to follow the opinion of the executors. This proposal was opposed by chancellor Wriothesley, who being of an ambitious and active spirit, and entitled to the first rank in the regency, after the primate, represented this innovation

vation as an infringement of the late king's will, which being strengthened by act of parliament, could only be altered by the same authority by which it was established. The executors and counsellors were, however, of a different opinion; and readily acquiesced in a proposal, which seemed well calculated to preserve the public peace and tranquility. It was therefore agreed to name a protector, when that office fell on the king's maternal uncle, the earl of Hertford; who being strongly interested in his safety, and having no claim to inherit the crown, could never have any separate interest, to induce him to put Edward's person or authority in danger. This change in the administration was made known to the public by proclamation; and dispatches were sent to inform all foreign courts of it. All in possession of any office now resigned their former commissions, and accepted new ones in the name of the young king. Even the bishops themselves were obliged to make the same submission. In the new commission, care was taken to insert, that they held their office during pleasure, and that all ecclesiastical and civil authority is originally derived from the king.

Henry, a little before his death, had intended to make a new creation of nobility, to supply the titles which had fallen by attainders, or the failure of issue; and to enable such persons to support their new dignity, he had determined, either to bestow estates upon them, or to advance them to higher offices. He had even informed them of his resolution, and charged

his executors in his will, to make good all his promises. Evidence was examined touching the particulars of Henry's design; in consequence of which, Hertford was created duke of Somerset, marshal and lord treasurer; Wriothesely, earl of Southampton; the earl of Essex, marquis of Northampton; Dudley, viscount Lisle, earl of Warwick; Sir Thomas Seymour, baron Sudley, and admiral; Sir Richard Rich, Sir William Willoughby, and Sir Edward Sheffield, also accepted the title of baron. In the mean time, some of them were enriched by receiving spiritual preferments, deaneries, and prebends: for now began to prevail the irregular practice of bestowing spiritual benefices on lay-men.

After the obsequies of the late king, they proceeded to the coronation of Edward VI. which was performed on the 20th of February, 1547; and on this occasion was published an amnesty; from which, however, were excluded, the duke of Norfolk, cardinal Pole, Edward Courtney, eldest son of the marquis of Exeter, and three other persons.

Wriothesely, earl of Southampton, being of a fiery and turbulent disposition, and his religion and politics very different from those of the protector, this last resolved to seize the first opportunity to expel him from the regency; and he soon furnished him with a pretence. He granted a commission under the great seal, to empower four lawyers, Southwell, Tregonell, Oliver, and Bellasis, to execute, in his absence, the office of chancellor; a step which he took

of his own authority, without the consent of the king or the regents. On complaints being made to the council, they consulted the judges, and were answered, that the commission was illegal, and the chancellor, by presuming to grant it, had not only forfeited the great seal, but was liable to punishment. The council summoned him to appear before them, when he endeavoured to shew, that if the commission he had granted was illegal, it might be declared null and void, and all the ill consequences of it easily prevented: but as he held his office by the will of the late king, founded on an act of parliament, he could not lose it without a trial in parliament. Notwithstanding this defence, the council declared that he had forfeited his office, that he should be fined, and confined to his own house during pleasure.

The duke of Somerset now procured a patent from the young king, in which he was named protector, with full regal power; and all the executors, except the earl of Southampton, were, with the twelve additional counsellors, assigned to him for a council. He reserved a power of nominating other counsellors at pleasure, and was bound to consult such only as he thought proper. The protector and his council were also empowered to act with discretion, and to execute whatever they thought proper for the public service, without incurring any penalty from any law, statute, or proclamation.

Thus the protector made himself entirely master of the government: however, the conni-

vance of the executors, and their acquiescence made this change universally submitted to ; and the young king discovering an extraordinary regard for his uncle, who was, in the main, a man of probity and moderation, no objections were made to his power. Men of sense, who observed the nation divided by the religious zeal of opposite parties, esteemed it necessary to entrust the government to one person, who might check the efforts of party, and thus secure the public tranquillity. Henry's extensive authority and imperious temper, had held the partizans of both religions in subjection. But upon his decease, the hopes of the Protestants, and the fears of the Catholics, were revived ; and animosities and disputes were every where produced by the zeal of the opposite parties. The protector had, for a long time, been considered as a secret partizan of the reformers ; and being now freed from restraint, made no scruple of discovering his intention to correct all abuses in the ancient religion. He took care that all who were entrusted with the king's education should be Protestants ; and as the young prince grew extremely fond of every kind of literature, especially of theological, for one of his tender years ; it was foreseen, that in the course of his reign, the Romish religion would be totally abolished in England. Few members of the council appeared to retain any attachment to that communion, and most of the counsellors appeared sanguine in promoting the progress of the reformation. Besides the influence of conviction, the riches  
which



which had been acquired by most of them, from their having obtained the spoils of the clergy, induced them to widen the breach between England and Rome; and by establishing a contrariety of speculative opinions, as well as of discipline and worship, to render a coalition with the Romish church altogether impracticable.

In all the duke of Somerset's schemes for promoting the reformation, he had constantly recourse to the advice of Cranmer, who being possessed of moderation and prudence, was desirous of bringing over the people, by insensible innovations, to that system of doctrines and discipline, which, in his opinion, was the most pure and perfect. He seems to have intended the establishment of a hierarchy, which, from its being suited to a great and settled government, might remain a perpetual barrier against the efforts of Rome, and might retain the reverence of the people, after the first fervours of zeal were diminished. The person who most zealously opposed the progress of the reformation, was Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; who, from his having displeased Henry, had no place in the council of regency; but was entitled, by his capacity and experience, to the highest confidence of his party. He magnified the great wisdom and learning of the late king, and insisted on the necessity of persevering in the ecclesiastical model established by that great monarch, at least, till the young king was of age. He defended the use of images, which the Protestants now openly attacked; and bi-  
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shop Ridley having decried holy water in a sermon, he wrote an apology for it, and maintained that, by the power of the Almighty, it might be rendered an instrument of doing as much good, as St. Peter's shadow, the hem of Christ's garment, or the clay and spittle laid upon the eyes of the blind.

As an act of parliament had, in the last reign, invested the crown with a legislative power, and royal proclamations, even during a minority, were armed with the force of laws, the protector, supported by this statute, resolved to employ his authority in favour of the reformers; and having, for a time, suspended the jurisdiction of the bishops, he appointed a general visitation throughout England. The visitors, who consisted of a mixture of clergy and laity, had six circuits assigned them; and besides correcting the immoralities of the clergy, were instructed to bring the discipline and worship somewhat nearer to the practice of the reformed churches. In the conduct of this delicate affair, Somerset and Cranmer shewed the greatest moderation. The visitors were to retain, for the present, all images which had not been abused by idolatrous worship; to instruct the people not to despise the ceremonies that were not yet abrogated; and only to avoid some particular superstitions, as using of consecrated candles, in order to drive away the devil; and the sprinkling of their beds with holy water.

In order to restrain the abuses of preaching, twelve homilies were published, which the cler-

gy were enjoined to read to the people; and all of that order were prohibited from preaching any where but in their parish churches without permission. These measures met with some opposition from Bonner, but he soon after retracted and acquiesced. Gardiner continued to oppose them with great steadiness, which drawing on him the indignation of the council, he was sent to the fleet, where he was treated with some severity. Tonsill, bishop of Durham, having also made some opposition to the new regulations, was dismissed the council-board; but, for the present, no farther severity was exercised against him, he being a man of a most unexceptionable character, and great moderation.

It is necessary here to take a view of foreign affairs. The pope had at last, with much reluctance, and after long delays, summoned a general-council, which was assembled at Trent, and was employed in ascertaining the doctrines, and correcting the abuses of the church. The emperor, desirous of retrenching the power of the court of Rome, and of gaining over the Protestants, promoted the latter object of the council; the Roman pontiff finding his own greatness concerned, desired rather to employ them in the former: he instructed his legates to protract the debates, and to engage the divines, in disputes concerning the nice points of faith, canvassed before them; but the legates soon found it more necessary to interpose, in order to appease the animosities which arose among the divines, and to bring them to some decision.

decision. The legates found the greatest difficulty in moderating the zeal of the council for a reformation, and in repressing the ambition of the prelates, who desired to exalt the episcopal authority on the ruins of that of the sovereign pontiff. The difficulty of this task made the legates, under the pretence, that the plague had broken out at Trent, suddenly transfer the council to Bologna, where they hoped it would be more immediately under his holiness's direction.

The emperor, in order to render religion subservient to his policy and ambition, resolved to make use of the charge of heresy, as a pretence for subduing the Protestant princes, and oppressing the liberties of Germany; but found it necessary to prevent the combination of his adversaries, by concealing his intentions under the deepest artifices. He separated from the Protestant confederacy, the palatine and the elector of Brandenburg. He made war on the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse; took the former prisoner, and, by treachery, prevarication, and breaking a safe-conduct he had granted to the latter, detained him captive. He now appeared to have reached the summit of his ambition; and while the German princes were astonished at his success, they were discouraged, by receiving the news of the death of Henry VIII. and then of Francis I. who, in every calamity, were their usual resources.

Henry II. who ascended the throne of France, was less hasty in his resolutions than Francis, and

and had less animosity against the emperor Charles V. Though he sent ambassadors to the princes of the league of Smalcald, with promises of his protection, he was at first unwilling to hurry into a war with so great a prince as the emperor. Being governed by the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine, he listened to their advice, in chusing to give immediate assistance to Scotland, his ancient ally; which had loudly claimed the protection of France, a little before the death of Henry the Eighth.

The struggles, on account of religion in Scotland, became daily more violent; but the resolution taken by cardinal Beaton, the primate, to employ the most rigorous punishments against the reformers, brought affairs to a quick decision. Wishart, a gentleman by birth, who exerted himself with great zeal, in defence of the reformation, was celebrated for the purity of his morals, for his extensive learning, and for being possessed of those talents, necessary to qualify him for becoming a popular preacher, and to seize the attention and affections of the people. The magistrates of Dundee, where he exercised his mission, were alarmed at his progress; and being unable or unwilling to treat him with greater rigour, were satisfied with denying him the liberty of preaching, and with banishing him out of their jurisdiction. Wishart, filled with indignation at their rejecting him, together with the word of God, threatened them with some dreadful calamity, and withdrew to the west part of the country,

country, where he daily encreased the number of his followers. Mean while the plague breaking out in Dundee, people exclaimed, that the town had drawn down the vengeance of heaven by banishing the pious preacher; and that the pestilence would continue till he was recalled. Wishart no sooner heard of this change than he returned to them: but lest the contagion should be spread by the assembling of multitudes together, he fixed his pulpit on the top of a gate, where the infected stood within, and the others without; and in this situation preached with great success, by taking advantage of the immediate terrors of the people to enforce his sentiments.

Wishart's great assiduity and progress made cardinal Beaton resolve to strike a terror into the minds of the people, by the punishment of so celebrated a preacher. He prevailed on the earl of Bothwell to arrest him, and to deliver him into his hands, contrary to a promise which Bothwell had given to that unhappy man. The cardinal being possessed of his prey, conducted him to St. Andrews, where he was tried and condemned to be burned for heresy. The cardinal finding, that though he had gained over Arran, the governor, to his party, he would not concur in Wishart's condemnation and execution; resolved to bring him to punishment, without the assistance of the secular arm; and he himself beheld the dismal spectacle from his window. Wishart, who suffered with the utmost patience and resignation, observed the triumph of his insulting



ing enemy, and foretold, that in a few days he should lie in the same place, as low as he was now exalted.

The disciples of this martyr, enraged at the cardinal for his cruelty, now formed a conspiracy against him; and having joined with them Norman Lesly, who had been ill used by the cardinal, conducted their enterprize with the utmost success. One morning early they entered the cardinal's palace, which he had strongly fortified; and though they were no more than sixteen persons, turned out a hundred tradesmen and fifty servants, whom they seized separately, before their intentions were suspected; and then shut the gates. The noise in the castle had alarmed the cardinal, who barricadoed the door of his chamber; but finding that they had brought fire, in order to force an entrance, he opened the door, and reminding them that he was a priest, conjured them to spare his life. Two of the assassins then rushed upon him with drawn swords; but a third, named James Melvill, stopped their career, and filled with the madness of enthusiastick zeal, bad them reflect, that this sacrifice was the work and judgment of God, and ought to be executed with becoming deliberation and gravity: then turning the point of his sword towards Beaton, he cried, " Repent, thou  
 " wicked cardinal, of all thy sins and iniqui-  
 " ties, but especially of the murder of Wis-  
 " hart, that instrument of God for the con-  
 " version of these lands. It is his death which  
 " now cries for vengeance against thee, and  
 VOL. VII. K " we

“ we are sent by God to inflict the deserved  
 “ punishment. For here I protest before the  
 “ Almighty, that it is neither hatred of thy  
 “ person, nor love of thy riches, nor fear of  
 “ thy power, which moves me to seek thy  
 “ death, but only because thou hast been and  
 “ still remainest an obstinate enemy to Jesus  
 “ Christ, and to his holy Ghost.” Then,  
 without allowing Beaton time to finish the re-  
 pentance to which he exhorted him, he ran him  
 through the body, and the cardinal fell dead  
 at his feet. This murder was executed on the  
 28th of May 1546. Soon after, the assassins  
 being reinforced by a hundred and forty of  
 their friends, prepared for the defence of the  
 castle, and sent a messenger to London to crave  
 the assistance of Henry; and that prince, tho’  
 near the close of life, promised to take them  
 under his protection.

Scotland had the misfortune of five short  
 reigns being successively followed by as many  
 long minorities. Justice had been continually  
 interrupted by the cabals and factions of the  
 nobility; and the hands of the administration  
 were now weakened by the death of the cardi-  
 nal, who, notwithstanding his cruelty, was  
 possessed of ability and vigour. However, the  
 queen dowager, who was a woman of extraor-  
 dinary talents and virtue, exerted herself as  
 much as possible, in support of the govern-  
 ment, in order to supply the weakness of Ar-  
 ran, the governor.

The government of England was no sooner  
 settled, than the protector resolved to execute,  
 if

if possible, the late king's command to his executors, with his dying breath, of uniting the two kingdoms by marriage. For that purpose he levied an army of eighteen thousand men, and fitted out a fleet of sixty sail, half of which were ships of war, and the other loaded with provisions and ammunition. The command of the fleet he entrusted to the lord Clinton; and he himself, attended by the earl of Warwick, marched at the head of the army, under the pretence of revenging some depredations committed by the borderers. Somerset also revived the ancient claim of the superiority of the crown of England over that of Scotland, and refused to enter into a negotiation on any other terms, but the marriage of Edward to the young queen.

Before the protector opened the campaign, he published a manifesto, in which, among other arguments for that measure, he observed, that the crown of Scotland had devolved on a female; that of England on a male, and happily the two sovereigns were of a rank and age the most suitable to each other: that after a long and secure peace had established confidence between the two nations, the hostile disposition which arose from past injuries would soon be extinguished: that the remembrance of former miseries, which at present enflamed their mutual animosities, would then only serve to make them cherish with more ardour, a state of happiness and tranquility, so long unknown to their ancestors; when the Scottish nobility, who were at present obliged to remain perpetually

ally in a warlike posture, would learn to cultivate the arts of peace, and would soften their minds to a love of domestic order and obedience; and that England, for the sake of future peace, was willing to resign its claims of superiority, and desired an union, which would be the more secure, from its being concluded on equal terms.

The protector soon found, that the attachment of the queen dowager to France and to the Romish religion would render all his remonstrances ineffectual. He therefore resolved to try the force of arms, to oblige the Scots to submit to a measure, for which they appeared to have entertained the most incurable aversion. On the 2d of September 1547 he entered Scotland from Berwick, and for some days advanced towards Edinburgh without meeting any resistance, except from some small castles, which he obliged to surrender at discretion. Somerset, exasperated against the governor and garrison of one of those castles, resolved to put them to the sword; but they eluded the first transport of his resentment, by asking for a few hours respite, till they had prepared themselves for death. This was granted, and the time being passed, they found him inclined to listen to their applications for mercy.

Arran had assembled the whole force of Scotland; and his army, which was twice as numerous as that of the English, was posted on an advantageous ground, secured by the Eske, about four miles from Edinburgh; and the English encamped at the village of Preston,  
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pans, at the distance of about two miles from their front. While the two armies lay in this situation, Arran detached the best part of his cavalry to insult the English quarters; and these being attacked by the lord Grey and Sir Francis Bryan, were entirely defeated, after a furious engagement, in which lord Hume was dangerously wounded, and about eight hundred Scots left dead upon the field.

Somerfet now prepared for a more decisive action. But going with the earl of Warwick to take a view of the Scotch camp, he found it difficult to attack it with any probability of success. He therefore wrote to Arran, with offers to return to England, and to repair the damages he had committed, if the Scots would only stipulate not to contract the queen to any foreign prince, but to detain her at home till she was of age to chuse a husband for herself. The moderation of this demand made the Scots reject it, they imagining, that the protector must be either influenced by fear, or reduced to great distress. At the same time the priests, many of whom had entered the camp, persuaded them to believe, that the English were detestable heretics, who being abhorred of God, were exposed to the divine vengeance, whence their arms could never be crowned with success. They were confirmed in this opinion on their observing Somerfet move towards the sea, as if he intended to escape with his army on board the ships, which at that very time sailed into the bay. Being therefore determined to cut off his retreat, they passed the river Eske,

and advanced into the plain. They were divided into three bodies: the van-guard commanded by Angus; the main body by Arran; and the rear by Huntley: their cavalry only consisted of light-horse, placed on their left flank, strengthened by some Irish archers, who had been brought over for this purpose by Argyle.

The protector was much pleased at observing this movement of the Scottish army. Having ranged his van on the high grounds on the left, farthest from the sea, he ordered them to remain there till the approach of the enemy: his main body and his rear he placed towards the right; and beyond the van, he posted lord Grey, at the head of the men at arms, with orders to attack the Scotch van in flank, while they were engaged in close fight with the van of the English.

The Scots, on advancing into the plain, were galled by the guns of the English ships: lord Graham's eldest son was killed, the Irish archers thrown into confusion, and the other troops somewhat staggered. This being perceived by lord Grey, he neglected his orders, and advancing at the head of his heavy-armed horse, attacked the Scotch infantry, in hopes of gaining the honour of the victory: but he found a slough and ditch, behind which were ranged the enemy, armed with spears, besides the field on which they stood was fallow ground, which lying in ridges across their front, disordered the motions of the English cavalry. Hence the shock of this body of horse was irregular



gular and feeble; and being received on the points of the Scottish spears, which were longer than the lances of the English cavalry, they were in a moment overthrown: Grey himself was dangerously wounded: lord Edward Seymour, the protector's son, had his horse killed under him, and the standard was near being taken.

Mean while the protector, Sir Ralph Sadler, and Sir Ralph Vane, exerted themselves with great activity and success, in rallying the cavalry. Warwick discovered great presence of mind in preserving the ranks of the foot, on which the horse had recoiled. He directed Sir Peter Meutas, captain of the foot harquebusiers, and Sir Peter Gamboa, captain of some Italian and Spanish arquebusiers, to advance on horseback, with orders to fire on the Scottish infantry. They marched to the slough, and continually discharged their pieces full in the face of the enemy: the ships galled them from the flank: the artillery planted on an eminence destroyed them from the front: the English archers poured in upon them an incessant shower of arrows, and the van guard advanced leisurely, and in good order against them from the hill. The van of the Scots being dismayed, began to retreat, which was soon changed into a flight, that was begun by the Irish archers. The panic soon communicated itself to the main body; and proceeding to the rear, the field became a scene of terror, confusion, consternation, and flight. The English army observing this from the heights, began the pursuit

suit with loud shouts, which still added to the dismay of the vanquished. The horse, eager to revenge the repulse they had received in the beginning of the action, made great slaughter among the flying enemy; and for the space of five miles from the field of battle to Edinburgh, the ground was strewed with dead bodies; and above all, the priests and the monks received no quarter. Few victories were ever more decisive, or gained by the conquerors with smaller loss; that of the English did not amount to two hundred men; but, according to the most moderate computation, above ten thousand of the Scots were slain, and about fifteen hundred were taken prisoners. This action, which was fought on the tenth of September 1547, was called the battle of Pinkey, from a neighbouring nobleman's seat of that name.

The queen dowager and Arran fled to Stirling, while the earl of Lenox and lord Wharton, entering the west-marches at the head of five thousand men, took and plundered Annan, and spread devastation over all the neighbouring counties.

Somerfet, instead of prosecuting his advantages, by which he might have imposed what terms he pleased on the Scotch, was impatient to return to England, where he heard, that cabals were carrying on against his authority. Having therefore taken several castles, and received the submission of some counties on the borders, he left Scotland. The fleet not only destroyed all the ships along the coast, but took Broughty in the Frith of Tay; and hav-  
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ing fortified it, left a garrison there. Arran, in order to gain time till succours could arrive from France, desired leave to send commissioners to treat of a peace; on which Somerset, appointing Berwick for the place of conference, left Warwick with full powers to negotiate; but the Scotch commissioners never appeared.

Somerset, on his arrival in England, summoned a parliament, in which he caused several laws to be passed, by which the rigour of several former statutes were mitigated, and some security given to the freedom of the constitution. The laws which extended the crime of treason beyond the statute of the 25th of Edward III. were repealed, as were all the laws extending the crime of felony, enacted during the late reign; with those against the Lollards and the statute of the six articles. By these repeals, many of the most rigorous laws that had ever passed in England were annulled; and thus, after the prevalence of tyranny for a long succession of years, some dawn both of civil and religious liberty began to appear. Among the other laws which passed this session, was also repealed that destructive law, by which the king's proclamation was made of equal force with a statute.

In 1548 the council proceeded farther in carrying on the reformation, and issued orders for the removal of all images from the churches; for candles being no longer carried about on Candlemas day, ashes on Ash-Wednesday, and palms on Palm-Sunday. As private

vate masses were abolished by law, it became necessary to compose a new communion service; and in the preface to that work, the council left the practice of auricular confession entirely indifferent, which was a prelude to its entire abolition. As the people were much distracted by the opposite opinions of their preachers, the council first endeavoured to remedy that inconvenience, by laying some restraints on preaching; but on their finding this expedient ineffectual, they imposed a total silence on the preachers; and by this means, put an end at once to all the polemics of the pulpit: a restraint which, in the nature of things, could only be temporary.

But the farther Somerset proceeded in the reformation of England, the more averse were the queen dowager and the clergy of Scotland to an union with that nation. Besides the hostile attempts made against Scotland being neither regular, nor pushed to the last extremity, only served to inspire that nation with the strongest aversion to an union, which was courted in so violent a manner. Even the persons who were inclined to the English alliance, were averse to its being imposed on them by force of arms; and the earl of Huntley pleasantly said, that he did not dislike the match, but he hated the manner of wooing. The queen dowager observing, that these were the prevailing sentiments, called a parliament, in which it was proposed, that the young queen should, for her greater security, be sent to France. Some objections were made to this  
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propofal; but thefe being answered, and the arguments ftrengthened by the French gold, which was plentifully diftributed among the nobles; and alfo by the zeal of the clergy, who dreaded the confequences of the Englifh alliance, it was determined to fend the queen to their ancient ally. In fhort, ſhe, attended by the lords Arefkine and Livingftone, put to ſea; and after meeting with ſome tempeſtuous weather, ſafely arrived at Breſt, whence ſhe was conducted to Paris, and was ſoon after betrothed to the dauphin.

Mean while the expected ſuccours from France had arrived in the Frith, to the number of fix thouſand men, half of whom were Germans. They were commanded by D'Eſſé, and ſmall as their number was, this ſupply raiſed the ſpirits of the Scots, which had been funk by their misfortunes. Somerſet being now preſſed by many difficulties at home, offered the Scots a ten years truce; but as they inſiſted on his reſtoring all the places he had taken, the propoſal came to nothing. The Scots recovered by ſurprize the fortrefſes of Faſt-caſtle and Hume, and put the garrifons to the ſword: they repulſed lord Seymour, who, with a body of Englifh, made a deſcent, firſt in Fife, and then at Montroſe. Sir Robert Bowes, and Sir Thomas Palmer, with a conſiderable body of Englifh forces, attempted to throw relief into Haddington; but theſe troops falling into an ambuſcade, were almoſt entirely cut to pieces; and though two hundred men, in ſpight of the vigilance of the French, entered

tered Haddington, with some provisions and ammunition, the garrison was reduced to such distress, that the protector finding it necessary to provide more effectually for their relief, raised an army of eighteen thousand men, and adding three thousand German Protestants, gave the command of the whole army to the earl of Shrewsbury. On the approach of the English, D'Essé raised the blockade, and with great difficulty retreated to Edinburgh, where he posted himself in an advantageous situation; Shrewsbury durst not attack him in his present station; and being satisfied with the advantage of supplying Haddington, retired into England.

The Scots, however, reaped more benefit from the divisions and distractions which prevailed in England, than from the protection of France. The two brothers, the protector and admiral, divided the whole court and kingdom by their opposite pretensions. Lord Seymour, the admiral, was arrogant, assuming, implacable, and of an insatiable ambition; and by his flattery and address, had so gained the affection of the queen dowager, that, forgetting her usual prudence, she married him immediately after the decease of the late king. The admiral's ambition, supported by the riches and credit of this alliance, gave umbrage to the dutchess of Somerset, who, uneasy at the younger brother's wife having the precedency, used all her credit with her husband, first to create, and then to widen the breach between the two brothers.

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While the protector commanded in Scotland, Seymour endeavoured to form intrigues among the counsellors, to corrupt the queen's servants by presents, and to captivate the affections of the young king, by improper indulgencies and liberalities. This had induced Somerset to leave the enterprize against Scotland unfinished, in order to guard against the attempts of his domestic enemies. In the ensuing parliament, the admiral, who had acquired many partizans and retainers, formed a party in both houses, and even prevailed on the king to write a letter to the parliament, desiring that Seymour might be appointed his governor. The design, however, was discovered before its execution, and some common friends were sent to remonstrate with him; upon which he threw out many menacing expressions. The council then sent for him, and he refusing to attend, they let him know, that the king's letter, instead of being of any service, in promoting his views, would be considered as a proof of his designing to disturb the government, by forming a separate interest with a child and a minor; and threatened to send him to the Tower. Upon which the admiral was obliged to submit, and desired to be reconciled to his brother.

Somerset's mild and moderate temper, made him willing to forget this conduct; but his brother's turbulent spirit was not so easily appeased. His spouse, the queen dowager dying in child-bed, he paid his addresses to the lady Elizabeth, then in the sixteenth year of her age; and she seems to have listened to the insinuations

of a man, who possessed every talent proper to captivate the affections of the fair. But Henry VIII. having excluded his daughters from all hopes of succession, should they marry without the consent of his executors, which Seymour could never hope to obtain; he was suspected of intending to effect his purpose, by means more rash and criminal; and this suspicion was confirmed by all his measures. He bribed all who had immediate access to the king's person; endeavoured to bring over the young prince to his interest; vilified his brother's administration; and, by his persuasions and promises, induced many of the principal nobility to join his party. Somerset, on being informed of these alarming circumstances, endeavoured by his entreaties, and even by heaping new favours upon the admiral, to make him desist from his dangerous designs: but finding all his endeavours ineffectual, he began to think of using more severe remedies. The quarrel was enflamed by the earl of Warwick, who had formed the design of raising his own fortune on the ruin of both the brothers.

Dudley, earl of Warwick, this secret incendiary, was the son of Dudley, one of Henry the Seventh's judges, who, having incurred the hatred of the public by his extortion, and perversion of the laws, to squeeze money from the people, had, in the beginning of the subsequent reign, been sacrificed to the popular resentment. The late king had restored the blood of young Dudley by act of parliament, and finding him a man of abilities, entrusted him

him with many important commands ; raised him to the dignity of viscount Lisle ; conferred on him the office of admiral ; and gave him, by his will, a place among his executors. During the minority, Dudley obtained the title of earl of Warwick ; and having undermined the credit of Southampton, was one of the chief of the protector's counsellors, and was universally considered as having abilities which qualified him equally for peace and war. But his vices obscured all his virtues ; for he had an exorbitant ambition, a contempt of justice, and insatiable avarice ; and finding that lord Seymour, whose abilities he chiefly dreaded, was involving himself in ruin by his rash conduct, he resolved to remove the principal object to his own projected greatness, by pushing him down the precipice.

Somerfet having found that his brother's seditious schemes endangered the public peace, was the more easily persuaded by Warwick to make use of the royal authority against him ; having, therefore, deprived him of the office of admiral, he signed a warrant for committing him to the Tower. Some of his accomplices were now taken into custody, and three privy-counsellors being sent to examine them, declared that they had obtained full and important discoveries. Yet the protector still suspended the blow, and shewing himself unwilling to ruin his brother, offered to desist from the prosecution, if he would promise to be cordially reconciled to him, renounce all his ambitious hopes, and be contented with enjoying a pri-

vate life in the country. Seymour, however, answered these friendly offers only by menaces and defiance; on which his brother ordered a charge to be drawn up against him, consisting of thirty-three articles. A session of parliament being held, it was resolved to proceed against him by bill of attainder; and the young king was, after much solicitation, induced to give his consent to it. This bill was passed in a full house, near four hundred voting for it, and not above nine or ten against it. He had no other trial, the bill was passed in his absence, the sentence was soon after executed, and the prisoner beheaded, in 1548, on Tower-hill. The warrant was signed by Somerset, who was much censured for his severity in this proceeding.

Though the Protestant divines had now nearly perfected the reformation, and renounced opinions, which for several ages had been esteemed infallibly certain, they had so little idea of religious liberty, as one of the principal privileges of rational and accountable beings, that they retained the opinion that truth was to be vindicated, wherever it was found, by fire and sword; and were ready to burn all who presumed to differ from them, in the same flames from which they themselves had narrowly escaped. Hence the council granted a commission to the primate and some others, to examine and search after all anabaptists, heretics, and contemners of the new book of common-prayer. These they were enjoined, if possible, to reclaim, to impose penance on them, and to  
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give them absolution ; or if they continued obstinate, to excommunicate, imprison, and deliver them over to the secular arm. In the execution of this office, the forms of law were dispensed with ; and when any statutes happened to interfere with the powers in the commission, they were over-ruled by the council. Several persons were taken up by the commissioners, for maintaining heretical opinions ; but being prevailed on to abjure them, were dismissed. But Joan Bocher, an anabaptist, being accused of maintaining heretical opinions, and refusing to recant, it was thought necessary to deliver her up to the flames. The young king, notwithstanding his being of such tender years, had, in this instance, more sense than all his counsellors ; and struck with the idea of its being extremely cruel, to punish a person with death, for following the dictates of her conscience, and for believing what she thought to be true, for a long time refused to sign the warrant for her execution. Cranmer earnestly persuaded him to comply, till Edward, overcome by his importunity, more than by the primate's reasons, at last submitted, though with tears in his eyes, telling him, that if he did wrong, the guilt should lie entirely on his head. The primate, after making a new effort to reclaim this woman from her errors, and finding her unmoved by all his arguments, at last committed her to the flames, little thinking that the same persecuting spirit which he then possessed, should bring him also to the stake.

Some time after, Van Paris, a Dutchman, being accused of Arianism, was sentenced to suffer the same punishment, which he underwent with such satisfaction, that he hugged and caressed the faggots that were consuming him.

The whole nation was, by these rigorous and cruel methods of proceeding, soon brought to a seeming conformity with the new doctrines and the new liturgy. The lady Mary alone, refusing to admit the established modes of worship, continued to adhere to the mass. On her being teized and menaced upon this account, she applied to the emperor, who using his interest with Sir Philip Hobby, the English ambassador, she obtained from the council a temporary connivance.

The kingdom was, at this juncture, exposed to very dangerous commotions; the minds of the people having been filled with discontent ever since the suppression of the monasteries. Though there are few institutions less favourable to the interests of a kingdom, than that of monks and friars, yet this had been attended with many valuable effects. The monks, by residing in their convents, in the center of their estates, spent their money among their tenants, and affording a ready market for commodities, were a sure resource to the poor and indigent. Their hospitality and charity, indeed, gave but too much encouragement to idleness; but many received benefit from the relief they obtained there. The friars being, by the rules of their institution, limited to a certain mode of life, had fewer motives for extortion than other men.



men, and were acknowledged to be the best and most indulgent landlords. The abbots and priors gave leases at an undervalue, and received in return a large present from their tenants; a great number of hands were employed, and the people enabled to maintain their families on the profits of agriculture. But now these lands being possessed by the nobility, their rents were raised; and the farmers perceiving that wool was a better commodity than corn, turned their fields into pasture grounds, and whole estates were laid waste by enclosures for keeping sheep. This requiring fewer hands, the under tenants became regarded as an useless burthen, and a great number of poor people were deprived of subsistence. By these means the price of meal encreased, while the gold and silver poured into Europe from Mexico and Peru, every where heightened the price of commodities; and the few poor who were employed in agriculture, could only obtain subsistence by a great increase of labour.

Somerfet, pitying the condition of the people, appointed commissioners for making enquiry concerning enclosures; and ordered, by proclamation, all those which had been lately made, to be laid open by a day appointed. The populace, on their meeting with such countenance from the government, began to rise and commit disorders in several places; but were quieted by persuasions and remonstrances. The protector, to give them greater satisfaction, sent every where new commissioners, with power to hear and determine all causes relating  
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to cottages, inclosures, and highways. This the nobility and gentry stigmatized as arbitrary and illegal; and the populace, impatient for redress, and fearing it would be eluded, sought for a remedy by force of arms. The rising broke out in several parts of England, as if an universal conspiracy had been formed. The rebels in the counties of Oxford and Gloucester, were dispersed by the lord Grey of Wilton; and those in Wiltshire, by Sir William Herbert; when many of them were killed in the field, and others were executed by martial law. The commotions in Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, and other counties, were quieted by gentler methods. But the disorders in Norfolk and Devonshire appeared more dangerous.

The populace in Norfolk were at first excited to take arms, as in other places, by complaints against the inclosures; but their numbers increasing to twenty thousand, they proceeded to more exorbitant pretensions. They demanded the suppression of the gentry, required that new counsellors should be placed about the king, and that the ancient religious rites should be restored. One Ket, a tanner, assuming the government over them, behaved with the utmost arrogance and outrage. Taking possession of Mousehold-hill, near Norwich, he erected his tribunal under an old oak, since known by the name of the Oak of Reformation; and summoning the gentry to appear before him, issued forth his decrees. The marquis of Northampton, at the head of fifteen hundred men, was first ordered against him,  
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and marched to Norwich, which the rebels had taken, and afterwards evacuated. He took possession of the city without opposition; but being assaulted in the night, the insurgents were repulsed with considerable loss; however, they renewed the attack in the morning with such fury, that they entered the town; and the inhabitants favouring the rebels, annoyed the king's troops from the balconies and windows, while they were engaged with the insurgents in the streets. This obliged the marquis to retreat, after the lord Sheffield, and a considerable number of his men were slain in the conflict.

This news no sooner reached London, than the earl of Warwick was sent with fifteen hundred horse, six thousand foot, and a train of artillery. On his arrival at Norwich, he summoned the rebels to surrender, assuring them of a free pardon; but this being rejected, he planted his artillery against the town, and having made a breach, entered it by assault; on which a hundred and thirty of the rebels were slain, and fifty being taken, were immediately hanged by martial law. The execution of their confederates served only to encrease their rage; the principal body, which was without the city, poured in like a tide, at one of the gates, which was guarded with artillery; and though they met with a very obstinate resistance, carried off the cannon, together with some carts of ammunition. Emboldened by this success, they battered the city wall, and then attempted to storm a breach; but being with great difficulty

culty repulsed, they retired to a valley called Duffendale. Warwick again offered pardon to all, except some of the ringleaders, and this being rejected, he ordered his whole cavalry to attack them in the valley, where they were drawn up in some order, and had placed in the front some gentlemen whom they had taken prisoners, that they might bear the first brunt of the battle. The king's troops sparing these unhappy captives, fell upon the rebels with such vigour, that they were soon put to flight, and above two thousand fell in the fight and pursuit. Ket being taken the next day in a barn, was hanged at Norwich castle, and nine of his followers on the boughs of the Oak of Reformation. Thus this rebellion was entirely suppressed.

The populace in Devonshire began their insurrection with complaining of inclosures, and of being oppressed by the gentry; but the parish priest of Sampford-Courtenay, directed their discontent towards religion, on which many persons of rank joined them, and among the rest Humphrey Arundel, governor of St. Michael's Mount. The rioters being encreased to ten thousand men, who were reduced to the form of a regular army; lord Russel, at the head of a small force, was sent against them; but being too weak to attack them in the field, kept at a distance, and entered into a negotiation with them, in hopes that, by this delay, he should oblige them to disperse for want of provisions. They demanded that mass should be restored; that holy water should be respected;

respected; that the law of the six articles should be strictly executed; that half of the abbey lands should be resumed; and all other grievances redressed. These demands Russel transmitted to the council, who only answered, that the rebels should disperse, and upon their immediate submission, they should receive pardon. Dissatisfied with this answer, they marched to Exeter, carrying before them crosses, banners, the host covered with a canopy, candlesticks, holy water, and other ensigns of popery. As the citizens of Exeter shut their gates, the rebels, having no cannon, endeavoured to enter the city by scalade, and then by mining; but were repulsed in both. Mean while Russel, who lay at Honiton, being reinforced by lord Grey and Sir William Herbert, with some German cavalry, and some Italian arquebusiers, under Battista Spinola, resolved to attempt the relief of Exeter, which was now reduced to extremities; and attacking the rebels, drove them from all their posts, made a great slaughter of them, both in the action and pursuit, and took many prisoners, among whom were Arundel, and the other leaders, who being sent to London, were tried and executed; but many of inferior rank were put to death by martial law. The vicar of St. Thomas, who was one of the chief incendiaries, was hanged on the top of his own steeple, dressed in his popish vestments, with his beads at his girdle.

These insurrections diverted the enterprizes against Scotland; by which means the French  
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general took the fortress of Broughty, put the garrison to the sword, and strengthened the English at Haddington, where the garrison being reduced by the plague, the earl of Rutland was ordered to dismantle it, and to convey the artillery and garrison to Berwick, and these orders he executed.

Somerſet, after he had obtained the patent, by which he, in a manner, obtained regal authority, had paid but little attention to the opinion of the other executors and counſellors; and all who were not entirely devoted to him, were ſure to be neglected. Warwick, who was more ſubtle and artful, covered the moſt ambitious views under fairer appearances; and having entered into a cloſe connection with Southampton, who had been re-admitted into the council, formed a ſtrong party, who were determined to ruin the protector. The nobility and gentry were generally diſpleaſed with the regard Somerſet appeared to ſhew to the common people. They aſcribed the late inſurrections to the countenance ſhewn to the multitude; and from his popular meaſures, apprehended a revival of the ſame diſorders. He had directed a court of requests, for the relief of the people, to be held in his own houſe; and having interpoſed with the judges in their behalf; this alſo diſguſted the nobility.

Mean while the intereſt he had formed with the people, was far from anſwering his expectations. The Romiſh party, who had great influence on the lower ranks, were his declared enemies, and ſeized every opportunity of decry-

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ing his conduct. His brother's attainder and execution bore an odious aspect: the great estate he had suddenly acquired, at the expence of the church and the crown, excited envy; and the magnificent palace which he was erecting in the Strand, exposed him to the censure of the public. Three bishops houses, with the parish-church of St. Mary, were pulled down, to furnish ground and materials for this structure. He had even attempted to demolish St. Margaret's, Westminster, and to apply the stones to the same purpose; but the parishioners chased away the workmen. He then demolished a chapel in St. Paul's church-yard, with the cloyster belonging to it; and these structures, together with the church of St. John of Jerusalem, were employed to raise his palace.

The protector's enemies taking advantage of these imprudences, lord St. John, president of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton, and Arundel, with five other members, met at Ely-house; and assuming the whole power of the council, represented the protector as the author of every public grievance; and wrote letters to the chief nobility and gentry in England, requiring their assistance: sending for the mayor and aldermen of London, they enjoined them to obey their orders, without regard to any others they might receive from the duke of Somerset. The same injunctions were laid on the lieutenant of the Tower, who let them know, that he resolved to comply with them. The next day, Rich, lord chancellor, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of

Shrewsbury, and several other persons of high rank, joined the malecontent counsellors; and secretary Petre, whom the protector sent to treat with his enemies, chose to remain with them. Application being also made to the common-council of London, they declared their approbation of the new measures.

Somerſet no ſooner heard of the defection of the counſellors, than he removed the king, who then reſided at Hampton-Court, to Windſor-caſtle; and arming his friends and ſervants, appeared reſolved to ſtand on his defence: but finding that no perſon of rank adhered to him, except Cranmer and Paget; that the city and Tower had declared againſt him; that the people did not riſe at his ſummons; and that he was even deſerted by his friends and confidants, he loſt all hopes, and applied to his enemies. This induced the lord Ruſſell, Sir John Baker, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, and three other counſellors, who had hitherto remained neutrals, to join Warwick's party. The council now vindicated themſelves in a proclamation, and wrote to the ſame purpoſe to the princeſſes Mary and Elizabeth. They even addreſſed the king; and, after the humbleſt proteſtations of duty and ſubmiſſion, declared that they were the council appointed by his father, and had choſen the duke of Somerſet protector, under the expreſs condition of his being guided by their advice; but he had uſurped the whole authority, and had not only neglected, but oppoſed their councils; that he had even the preſumption to raiſe forces againſt them, and place  
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them about his majesty's person : they therefore begged to be admitted to his royal presence; that he would restore them to his confidence, and dismiss Somerset's servants. The king complied with their request, and Somerset only capitulating for a gentle treatment, it was promised him. Yet, notwithstanding this, he was sent to the Tower, with some of his friends and partizans, among whom was Cecil, who was afterwards so greatly distinguished. Articles of indictment were then exhibited against him; one of the chief of which was, his usurpation of the government, and his taking the whole administration of affairs into his own hands.

Those of the Romish religion ascribing all the late innovations to Somerset's councils, were elevated with the hopes, that his fall would prepare the way for the restoration of the ancient religion. But Warwick, who had the chief sway in the council, was entirely indifferent on this subject; and finding that it would not be easy to eradicate the principles of the reformation out of Edward's mind, was resolved to comply with that young prince's inclinations. Taking care, therefore, to express his intention of supporting the reformation, he threw such discouragements in the way of Southampton, who was at the head of the Romanists, that he retired from the council, and soon after died of vexation and disappointment. The rest of the counsellors, who concurred in the revolution, were rewarded by promotions and new honours. Russell was made earl of Bedford: the office of great chamber-

lain was given to the marquis of Northampton; and lord Wentworth, who enjoyed the office of chamberlain of the household, obtained the manors of Stepney and Hackney, which were taken from the see of London. A council of regency was then formed, chiefly composed of members who had been formerly appointed by Somerset, and had obtained their seat from an authority which was now declared usurped and illegal.

Somerset was now prevailed on to confess on his knees before the council, all the articles brought against him, which he imputed to his own rashness and folly, but without any malignity of intention. He being prevailed on to subscribe this confession, it was laid before the parliament, who, after sending a committee to examine him, passed a vote, by which they fined him two thousand pounds a year in lands, and deprived him of all his offices. Lord St. John was, in his stead, created treasurer, and Warwick, earl marshal. The prosecution here ceased: the king remitted his fine: he recovered his liberty; and Warwick, thinking him now sufficiently humbled, re-admitted him into the council; and even agreed to unite their families, by the marriage of lord Dudley, his own son, with the lady Jane Seymour, Somerset's daughter.

Though a project for concluding a peace with France, by the restoration of Boulogne, had served as a pretence for clamour against the protector's administration, the new council agreed to consent to it; and, in 1550, sent the  
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earl of Bedford, and the other commissioners, with full powers to negotiate. Henry II. absolutely refused to pay the two millions of crowns, which his predecessor had acknowledged to be due to the crown of England, as the arrears of pensions; and offered four hundred thousand crowns for the restitution of Boulogne, which was accepted, and six hostages given for the performance of this article. Scotland being comprehended in the treaty, the English agreed to restore Dunbar and Lauder, and to demolish the fortresses of Eymouth and Roxburgh. A peace was no sooner concluded with France, than a project was formed for entering into a close alliance with that kingdom; and it was sometime after agreed, that Edward should marry Elizabeth, the daughter of France, and all the articles were fully settled, though this project was never carried into execution.

The design of marrying the king to the daughter of a prince, who was a violent persecutor of the Protestants, was far from being agreeable to that party in England: but in every other respect the council steadily promoted the reformation. Several of the prelates were still inclined to the Romish communion; and though they made some compliances, gave countenance to such incumbents as were negligent or refractory. A resolution was therefore taken, to deprive these prelates of their bishoprics; and it was thought proper to begin with Gardiner, who was thrown into prison; and he was at length not only deprived of his

bishopric, but his books and papers were seized, and his person kept in close confinement. Afterwards Day, bishop of Chichester, Heathe, of Worcester, and Voisey, of Exeter, were also deprived of their bishoprics.

About the same time an order was issued by the council, for purging the library at Westminster of all missals, legends, and other superstitious books. Many of these were plated with gold and silver, and curiously embossed. Great havoc was also made on the libraries of Oxford, where printed books and manuscripts were destroyed without distinction: the volumes of divinity suffered for their rich bindings: those of geometry and astronomy were supposed to contain nothing but necromancy, and those of literature were condemned as useless.

The religious zeal of the council did not, however, prevent their finding leisure to attend both to the public interest, and their own temporal concerns. The trade of England had been chiefly carried on by the inhabitants of the Hanse-towns, or Easterlings, as they were called; and to encourage these merchants to settle in England, Henry III. had granted them a patent, by which they were exempted from several heavy duties paid by other foreigners. This company, usually called the Merchants of the Stilyard, had hitherto engrossed almost the whole foreign trade of the kingdom; and as they employed the shipping of their own country, the navigation of England had always continued in a languishing condition.

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The council annulled the privileges of this corporation; and though several remonstrances were made against this step by Lubeck, Ham-  
burgh, and other Hanse-towns, the council persevered in their resolution; and the good effects of it soon became visible to the nation, by the English being tempted to enter into commerce.

The plans for promoting industry were, however, in danger of proving abortive, from the fear of domestic confusions. Warwick, not satisfied with the station he had attained, carried his pretensions still farther. The last earl of Northumberland had died without issue; and as his brother, Sir Thomas Piercy, had been attainted for his share in the insurrection in Yorkshire during the late reign, the title was extinct, and the estate vested in the crown. Hence Warwick procured a grant of those ample possessions, and was dignified with the title of duke of Northumberland. His friend Paullet, lord St John, the treasurer, was first created earl of Wiltshire, and then marquis of Winchester; and Sir William Herbert was made earl of Pembroke.

Northumberland, however, regarding all increase of possessions and titles for himself and partizans, only as steps to farther acquisitions, resolved at length to ruin Somerset, whom he considered as the chief obstacle to the attainment of his hopes. Their late alliance had produced no cordial union, and only enabled Northumberland the more certainly to compass his rival's destruction. He secretly gained many

ny of that unhappy nobleman's friends and servants : he sometimes provoked him by ill usage, and at others terrified him by the appearance of danger. The unguarded Somerset often broke out into menacing expressions against Northumberland ; and at other times formed rash projects, which he immediately abandoned : his treacherous confidants repeated every passionate word which dropped from his mouth to his enemy, and revealed the schemes they themselves had at first projected.

Northumberland now thought that the proper season for acting openly was come, and in one night the duke of Somerset, lord Grey, David and John Seymour, Neudigate, and Hammond, two of the duke's servants, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir Ralph Vane, were arrested and confined. The next day the dutches of Somerset, with Crane and his wife, her favourites, Sir Michael Stanhope and others, were thrown into prison. Sir Thomas Palmer, who had acted as a spy upon Somerset, charged him with having formed a design to secure the Tower, raise a rebellion in London, and an insurrection in the north ; and maintained, that Somerset once designed to murder Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, at a banquet : Palmer's testimony, with regard to the last circumstance, was confirmed by Crane and his wife ; and it seems some rash expressions of such a nature had really been mentioned, though no regular conspiracy had been formed, nor any measures taken for its execution.

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This unhappy nobleman was brought to his trial on the first of January 1551, before the marquis of Winchester, who was created high steward. The jury was composed of twenty-seven peers, among whom were his capital enemies, Northumberland, Pembroke, and Northampton. He was accused of high treason, for designing to raise insurrections; and of felony, in intending the murder of privy-counsellors. The witnesses were examined by the privy council, but neither produced in court, nor confronted with the prisoner; and their depositions were given in to the jury. Somerset's defence, with respect to the treasonable part of the charge, was so satisfactory, that the peers gave a verdict in his favour; his intention of assaulting the privy-counsellors, was, indeed, supported by tolerable evidence; Somerset himself confessing, that he had made use of words to that effect, though he had formed no resolution on that head; and the peers brought him in guilty of felony. On receiving his sentence, he asked pardon of those peers for having listened to designs against them. Somerset being beloved by the people, they, on hearing him acquitted of treason, expressed their joy by loud acclamations; but their satisfaction was soon damped, by their finding that he was condemned to suffer death for felony.

Northumberland's emissaries had taken care to prepossess the young king against his uncle; and to prevent his relenting, kept him from reflection by a continued series of amusements,  
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and by hindering any of Somerset's friends from having access to him. At length this noble prisoner was brought, on the 22d of January 1552, to the scaffold on Tower-hill, amidst a vast concourse of the populace, to whom he spoke with great composure, protesting, that he was innocent of the crimes laid to his charge; that he had always promoted the service of his king, and the interest of the true religion. The people attested the truth of this, by crying aloud, "It is most true;" and on his praying that the king might enjoy health and prosperity, there was a general response of *Amen*. The spectators appeared to be in great agitation, and on the brink of taking some violent measure. Some people, who had been ordered to appear in arms at the execution, perceiving at a distance that the duke was already on the scaffold, mended their pace, crying aloud to each other, Come away! The precipitation added to this exclamation, which was echoed through the whole multitude, produced an universal tumult. This having subsided, Sir Anthony Brown riding towards the scaffold, the people exclaimed, A pardon! a pardon! But the duke telling them they were mistaken, entreated them to allow him to pass his last moments in peace. He then continued his speech, which he concluded, with desiring them to join with him in prayer, and which being ended, he submitted to the stroke of the executioner. Many of the people, who entertained fond hopes of his pardon to the last, rushed in to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood,

blood, which they long preserved as a precious relic; and soon after, when Northumberland met with the same fate, upbraided him with his cruelty to Somerset, shewing him these symbols of his guilt. Though many actions of Somerset's life were exceptionable, he appears to have merited a better fate; and that the faults which he committed were owing to a mistaken judgment, or to weakness, and not to a bad intention. His virtues were better calculated for a private than for a public life: his want of penetration and firmness rendering him incapable of extricating himself from those cabals and violent measures to which that age was so much addicted.

Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir Thomas Arundell, Sir Ralph Vane, and Sir Miles Partridge, who were all of them Somerset's friends, were also tried, condemned, and executed: but great injustice appears to have been used in their prosecution. Lord Paget, chancellor of the dutchy, was tried in the star-chamber, and condemned in a fine of six thousand pounds; and to lose his office. He was also mortified by being degraded from the order of the garter as unworthy, on account of his mean birth, to share that honour.

Among the most eminent prelates of that age, was Tonsall, bishop of Durham, who was distinguished by his learning, moderation, humanity, and beneficence. He had opposed all innovations in religion; but they were no sooner enacted than he submitted, and had conformed to every theological system which had been

been established, from the opinion, that all private sentiments ought to be sacrificed to the public peace and tranquility. The general respect entertained for him secured him from any severe treatment during Somerset's administration; but on Northumberland's gaining the ascendant, he was thrown into prison; and that rapacious nobleman having formed the design of acquiring for himself a principality in the northern countries, resolved to effect his purpose, by depriving Tonsall of his bishopric. A bill of attainder against that prelate for misprision of treason, was therefore brought into the house of peers, and passed with the opposition only of Cranmer, who had always a cordial and sincere friendship for him, and of lord Stourton, a zealous catholic. But upon its being brought down to the commons, they demanded that witnesses should be examined; that Tonsall should be confronted with his accusers, and be allowed to defend himself; and these demands being refused, the bill was rejected.

Northumberland and his partizans ascribed this equity, so unusual in the parliament during that age, to the prevalence of Somerset's party in the house of commons, the members being chosen during that nobleman's administration; and a bill, ratifying the attainder of Somerset and his accomplices, being also rejected by the commons, after it had passed the upper house, confirmed them in this opinion; they therefore resolved to dissolve the parliament, which had



fat during this whole reign, and to summon a new one.

Northumberland, in order to procure a house of commons devoted to his will, engaged the king to write circular letters, enjoining the sheriffs to inform the freeholders, that they were to chuse for their representatives men of knowledge and experience; and to order, that where any of the privy council should recommend such persons, their directions should be complied with; a demand entirely destructive of all liberty. The parliament thus chosen, fully answered Northumberland's expectations. In the interval, Tostall had been deprived of his bishopric, by the lay-commissioners appointed to try him; and now the see of Durham, was divided by act of parliament into two bishoprics, each of which had a certain portion of the revenue: but the regalities of the see, which included the jurisdiction of a court Palatine, the king gave to Northumberland.

Though the king had received four hundred thousand crowns from France, on delivering up Boulogne; though he had reaped profit from the spoils of the plate and rich ornaments of the churches, and the sale of some chantry lands, which, by a decree of council, had been converted to the king's use; yet, from the rapacity of the courtiers, the crown owed about three hundred thousand pounds; and great dilapidations were made of the royal demesnes: but as Edward, among his other virtues, was inclined to frugality, he would probably have retrieved these losses in a short time. His

health, however, declining very fast, the emptiness of the exchequer was a great obstruction to the execution of Northumberland's ambitious projects.

The youth and infirm state of the young prince, rendered him susceptible of any impression. Of this Northumberland took advantage, by representing to him, that his two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, had been declared illegitimate by act of parliament, and though Henry, by his will, had restored them to a place in the succession, the nation would never submit to see the throne of England filled by a bastard: that they were only his half-sisters, and if they were legitimate, had no right to the crown, as his heirs and successors: that his sister Mary's succession would be attended with the abolition of the Protestant religion, and the re-establishment of popery: that when these princesses, together with the queen of Scots, who was set aside by his father's will, and was betrothed to the dauphin, were excluded by such solid reasons, the succession devolved on the marchioness of Dorset, the eldest daughter of the French queen, and the duke of Suffolk; and that the next heiress of the marchioness was the lady Jane Gray, who was of the most amiable character, had an excellent education, and was every way worthy of a crown; and that even supposing her title doubtful, the king had the same power as his father, and might leave her the crown by letters patent: These reasons made a strong impression on the young prince's mind, and more particularly

cularly his zeal for the Protestant religion, made him apprehend the consequences that might attend the throne's being filled by so bigotted a Papist as his sister Mary: and though he had a tender affection for Elizabeth, against whom there could be no such objection, he was persuaded to believe, that he could not exclude one sister for illegitimacy, without excluding the other.

The two sons of the duke of Suffolk having just died of the Sweating-sickness, that title was extinct; and Northumberland prevailed on the king to bestow it on the marquis of Dorset; after which he persuaded the new duke and dutchess of Suffolk to give their consent to the marriage of the lady Jane, with his fourth son, the lord Guilford Dudley. In order to strengthen himself by other alliances, he also married his own daughter to the lord Hastings, the eldest son of the earl of Huntingdon, and negociated a marriage between the lady Catharine Gray, and lord Herbert, the eldest son of the earl of Pembroke. The solemnization of these marriages was attended with great pomp and festivity; and Northumberland being hated by the people, they could not forbear expressing their indignation at observing, during the languishing state of the king's health, such public demonstrations of joy.

During the last year, Edward had been seized with the meazles, and then with the small-pox; and having perfectly recovered, the nation entertained hopes, that these would serve to confirm his health; and he afterwards made

a progress through some parts of England. But soon after, being seized with a cough, which could not be removed either by a regimen or medicines, the fatal symptoms of a consumption appeared; and people saw, with great concern, his bloom and vigour insensibly decay; Edward's languishing state of health made Northumberland still more intent on the execution of his schemes. He suffered none but his own emissaries to be about the king; pretended the most anxious concern for his health and welfare, and he himself attended him with the greatest assiduity. By these artifices, he prevailed on the young king to give his final consent to the projected settlement. Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the common pleas, and two other judges, with the attorney and solicitor-general, were sent for to the council: the minutes of the intended deed were read to them, and the king desired them to draw them up in the form of letters patent. They hesitated to obey, and desired time to consider of it; but the more they reflected, the greater danger they found in complying. Henry VIII. had made a settlement of the crown, in consequence of an act of parliament; and by another act passed in this reign, it was declared treason to change the order of succession. These reasons were pleaded before the council, and the judges alledged, that the only proper method for giving a sanction to the new settlement, was to summon a parliament, and to obtain the consent of that assembly. Edward observed, that he intended to call a parliament  
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afterwards, in order to have the settlement ratified; but in the mean time required the judges, on their allegiance, to draw the patent in the manner required; and the council told the judges, that their refusal would subject them to the penalties of treason. After the arguments had been canvassed in several meetings, between the council and the judges, Montague proposed an expedient, which satisfied both the counsellors and his brethren. He desired, that the king and council should pass a special commission, requiring the judges to draw a patent for a new settlement of the crown, and that immediately after, a pardon should be granted them for any offence they might have incurred by their compliance. On the patent's being drawn, and brought to the bishop of Ely, the chancellor, for him to affix the great seal to it, that prelate desired, that all the judges might previously sign it. Gosnald at first refused, and was with much difficulty prevailed on, by the violent menaces of Northumberland, to comply; but the constancy of Sir James Hales, notwithstanding his being a zealous Protestant, could not be shaken. The chancellor, for his greater security, next required, that the hands of all the privy-counsellors should be set to the patent: with this demand the counsellors were prevailed on to comply. Cranmer alone, for some time, hesitated; but at last was overcome by the king's earnest and pathetic entreaties. Thus, by the king's letters patent, Mary and Elizabeth were excluded, and the crown settled on the heiresses of the dutchess of Suffolk, she

herself being content to give place to her daughters.

Edward now visibly declined every day; and though little hopes were entertained of his recovery, his physicians, by the advice of Northumberland and the council, were dismissed; and he was put into the hands of an old woman, who undertook to restore him to his former state of health: but though she tried all her medicines and regimen, the bad symptoms still encreased: he felt a difficulty of speech and breathing, and expired at Greenwich on the 6th of July 1553, in the sixteenth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign.

Edward is celebrated, by our historians, for the beauty of his person, the engaging sweetness of his disposition, his attachment to equity and justice, and the extent of his knowledge, which rendered him an object of tender affection to the public, and filled them with the flattering hopes, that his reign would be rendered illustrious by his virtues. His death was, therefore, felt as a public misfortune. This prince's capacity and application to study were so extraordinary, that at the time of his death, he understood the Greek, Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish languages; was versed in the sciences of natural philosophy, logic, and music; and was master of all the theological disputes, with which the minds of men in that age were agitated. He kept a book, in which he wrote the characters of all the chief men of the nation; taking notice of their manner of life,  
and



and their religious principles. He understood fortification, and designed well: he was also well acquainted with all the harbours and ports in his dominions, and with those of Scotland and France, with the depth of water, and the way of entering them. He had studied the business of the mint, with the exchange and value of money; and had acquired such knowledge in foreign affairs, that the ambassadors who were sent into England, published very extraordinary things of him in all the courts of Europe. To assist his memory, he took notes of every thing he heard worth notice, which he wrote first in Greek characters, that they might be unintelligible to those about him; and afterwards copied out fair in his journal. This journal, written with his own hand, is in the British Museum, and was transcribed by bishop Burnet, who published it in his second volume of his history of the reformation.

## CHAP.

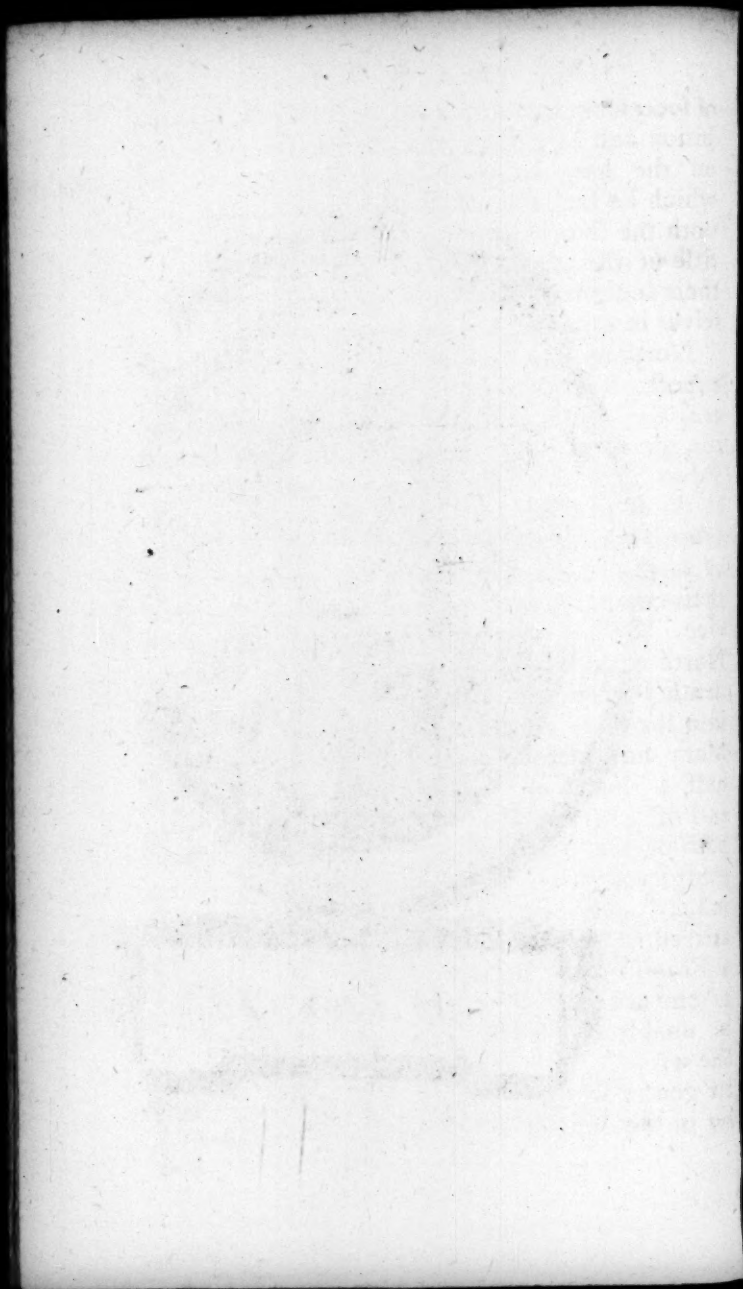
## C H A P. IV.

## M A R Y.

*Northumberland endeavours in vain to get the two Princesses into his Power ; causes the Lady Jane Gray to be proclaimed. Queen Mary proclaimed and acknowledged. Northumberland executed. The Catholic Religion restored. The Queen's Marriage with Philip. Wyatt's Insurrection. The Execution of Lord Dudley and Lady Jane Gray. Philip arrives in England, and is married to Mary. A violent Persecution. Mary's Extortions. The Emperor Charles V. resigns the Crown of Spain to Philip. A War with France ; the Battle of St. Quintin, and the Loss of Calais. Affairs of Scotland. The Death and Character of the Queen.*

**A**S Henry VIII. had restored his daughters to the right of succession, the princess Mary was, during all the reign of Edward, considered as his lawful successor. The Protestants, indeed, dreaded the effects of her prejudices ; but the universal hatred against the Dudleys, who, it was foreseen, would be the real sovereigns, was more than sufficient to counterbalance, even with that party, their regard to every other consideration. Northumberland's last attempt to violate the order  
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of succession, had displayed, in full light, his ambition and injustice; and the people reflecting on the long train of fraud and cruelty, by which he had conducted that project, and that both the lives of the two Seymours, and the title of the princesses, had been sacrificed to it, their indignation induced them to exert themselves in opposing his ambitious views.

Northumberland being sensible that he must expect great opposition, had taken care to conceal the king's destination; and in order to get the two princesses in his power, had, before Edward's death, engaged the council to write to them in that prince's name, to desire their attendance, under the pretence that his ill state of health made him desire the consolation of their company, and the assistance of their advice. Before their arrival, Edward died; and Northumberland took care to keep the king's death a secret, that the princesses might fall into the snare he had laid for them. The lady Mary had already reached Hoddesdon, within half a day's journey of the court, when the earl of Arundell sent her private intelligence, both of the death of her brother, and of the conspiracy formed against her: upon which she instantly returned back, and by quick journies, arrived first at Kenning-hall in Norfolk, then at Framlingham in Suffolk, where she proposed to embark for Flanders, in case she should be unable to defend her right of succession. She wrote to the nobility, and most considerable gentry in every county of England, to assist her in the defence of her person and crown; and

and sent a message to the council to inform them that she knew of her brother's death, to promise them pardon for past offences, and to require them to give immediate orders for proclaiming her in London.

Northumberland now, finding it no longer necessary to dissemble, went to Sion-house, in company with the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Pembroke, and others of the nobility; and approached the lady Jane, who resided there, with the respect due to a sovereign. The lady Jane, who was, in a great measure, ignorant of all these transactions, was no sooner acquainted with the design of their visit, than she was overwhelmed with grief and astonishment; and bursting into a flood of tears, appeared quite inconsolable. She was a lady of an amiable person, an engaging temper, and of a most accomplished mind. Being of the same age with the late king, she had been educated with him, and was well acquainted with the Roman and Greek languages, besides the modern tongues. She had spent most of her time in her application to learning, and shewed great indifference to the usual amusements of her sex and station. Roger Ascham, the lady Elizabeth's tutor, one day paying her a visit, found her reading Plato, while the rest of the family were engaged in a party of hunting in the park; and on his expressing his admiration at the singularity of her choice, she observed, that Plato afforded her more real pleasure, than others could reap from all their gaiety and sport. While her mind was possessed of this fondness  
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for literature, and the elegant arts, and her heart filled with tenderness for her husband, who deserved her affection, she was insensible of the flattering allurements of ambition; and being shocked at the idea of possessing the crown, refused to accept of it; pleaded the preferable title of the two princesses; expressed her dread of the consequences attending so dangerous an enterprize; and begged to be allowed to remain in the private station in which she was born. At last, overcome by the entreaties and persuasions of her father and of her father-in-law, and, above all, of her husband, she was prevailed on to relinquish her own judgment, and submit to their will. As it had been long usual for the kings of England, to pass some days after their accession in the Tower, Northumberland immediately conveyed her thither; and all the counsellors were obliged to attend her to that fortress; by which means, Northumberland made them, in some measure, his prisoners. The council immediately gave orders to proclaim Jane throughout the kingdom; but these orders were obeyed only in London and its neighbourhood; and the people heard the proclamation without expressing the least applause. Some even shewed their scorn and contempt; and one Pot, a vintner's 'prentice, was punished with losing his ears in the pillory for this offence; an act of severity which gave the populace an ill impression of the new government. The Protestant divines, who were employed to convince the people of Jane's title, found their eloquence fruitless; and

and Ridley, bishop of London, who preached a sermon on that subject, produced no effect on his audience.

Mean while the people of Suffolk flocked to queen Mary : but being attached to the Protestant communion, could not forbear, amidst their tenders of duty, to express their apprehensions for their religion : but on her assuring them that she never designed to change the laws of Edward, they enlisted themselves in her cause with great zeal and affection. The nobility and gentry, whose interest lay in the neighbourhood, appeared at the head of their tenants ; and Sir Edward Hastings, the earl of Huntingdon's brother, who had obtained a commission from the council to raise forces in Buckinghamshire for the lady Jane, carried over his troops, which consisted of four thousand men, and joined queen Mary. Even a fleet, which Northumberland had sent to lie off the coast of Suffolk, being forced by a storm into Yarmouth harbour, was induced to declare for that princess.

Northumberland, who had hitherto been blinded by his ambition, now saw himself encompassed with dangers. He had raised forces, and assembled them at London ; but fearing the cabals of the counsellors and courtiers, resolved to keep near the person of the lady Jane, and to send the army under the command of Suffolk. But the counsellors, who wished to remove him, persuaded him to take the command of the troops, and at his departure, attended him with the highest protestations of attachment ;

tachment; and none of them more than Arundell, his mortal enemy. On the duke's reaching St. Edmundsbury, he found his army, which amounted to no more than six thousand men, was too weak to oppose the queen's, which was twice that number. He therefore wrote to desire the council to send him a reinforcement; on which the counsellors seizing this opportunity of freeing themselves from confinement, left the Tower; and instead of executing Northumberland's orders, assembled in Baynard's-castle, a house belonging to Pembroke, to consult in what manner they should shake off his tyranny. The conference was begun by Arundell, who displaying Northumberland's cruelty and injustice, his exorbitant ambition, and the guilt in which he had involved the whole council; maintaining that the only method of atoning for their past offences, was by their speedily returning to the duty they owed their lawful sovereign. Pembroke seconded this motion; and clapping his hand to his sword, swore he was ready to fight any man that opposed it. The mayor and aldermen of London being sent for, chearfully obeyed the orders they received to proclaim queen Mary; and even Suffolk, who commanded in the Tower, finding that it would be to no purpose to resist, opened the gates, and declared for that queen. The lady Jane, after the vain pageantry of wearing a crown for only ten days, returned with more satisfaction to the enjoyment of a private life, than she felt from all the splendor of royalty. The messengers sent to order Nor-

thumberland to lay down his arms, found, that he having been deserted by all his followers, had despaired of success, and had already proclaimed the queen, with the appearance of joy and satisfaction. On Mary's approach to London, the people every where expressed their loyalty and zeal; and she was met by the lady Elizabeth, at the head of a thousand horse, headed by that princess, in order to support their joint title.

The queen ordered the earl of Arundell to take the duke of Northumberland into custody; who, on his being arrested, fell on his knees, and begged for his life. At the same time were imprisoned, his eldest son, the earl of Warwick, his two younger sons, lord Ambrose, and lord Henry Dudley; his brother, Sir Andrew Dudley; the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Huntingdon, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates. Mary afterwards confined the duke of Suffolk, lord Guilford Dudley, and his spouse, the lady Jane Grey. But the queen being desirous of acquiring popularity in the beginning of her reign, by an appearance of clemency, pardoned most of them, and even restored Suffolk to liberty.

Northumberland, on his being brought to his trial in Westminster-hall, only desired the permission to ask the peers two questions: Whether a man could be guilty of treason for obeying orders given him by the council, under the great seal? And whether those who were, at least, equally culpable, could sit as his judges? The duke of Norfolk, who sat as high-steward, answered,

answered, that the great seal of an usurper was no authority ; and the persons not lying under any sentence of attainder, were still innocent in the eye of the law, and capable of sitting on any trial. From this last answer, so contrary to common sense, the duke foresaw, that any objection he could make would be overuled, he therefore confessed the indictment, and referred himself to her majesty's mercy. The duke, at his execution, confessed, that he had always been a Roman Catholic in his heart, and told the people, that they would never enjoy tranquility, till they returned to the faith of their ancestors. Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates, suffered with him ; but the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Warwick, who were condemned with him, were first reprieved, and afterwards pardoned.

When Mary first arrived in the Tower, the duke of Norfolk, who had been confined all the last reign ; Courtney, son of the marquis of Exeter, who, ever since his father's attainder, had suffered the same punishment ; Tonsill, Gardiner, and Bonner, appeared before her, and implored her clemency. Upon which, she not only restored them to liberty, but immediately received them to her confidence and favour. Courtney soon after obtained the title of earl of Devonshire. The queen, besides performing all these popular acts, endeavoured to obtain the favour of the public, by granting a general pardon, though with some exceptions ; and by remitting a subsidy which the last parliament had voted to her brother.

The satisfaction arising from this gracious demeanor in the queen, did not, however, prevent the people from being agitated with great anxiety, on account of religion: for the bulk of the nation being inclined to the Protestant religion, the apprehensions arising from the new queen's principles and prejudices, were pretty general. Mary had imbibed the strongest attachment to the church of Rome, and an extreme aversion to the new doctrines, from which she believed all her misfortunes originally sprung. The treatment she had received from her father, and the vexations she had met with from the protector and the council, during Edward's reign, increased her disgust to the reformers, and confirmed her in her prejudices; and being naturally of a sour and obstinate temper, and her mind irritated by contradiction and misfortunes, she possessed all the qualities of a bigot; she had no doubt in her own belief, and could grant no indulgence for the opinions of others. People, therefore, had great reason to dread, from Mary's zeal, both the abolition and the persecution of the established religion; and it was not long before she discovered the effects of her bigotry.

The six bishops, Gardiner, Bonner, Tonsall, Day, Heath, and Vesey, were reinstated in their sees; and Tonsall replaced in the regalities, as well as in the revenue of the see of Durham. Under the pretence of discouraging disputes, she, by an act of prerogative, silenced all the preachers throughout England, except such as obtained a particular license; and



and none but those of the Romish religion were favoured with this privilege. Holgate, archbishop of York, Ridley, bishop of London, Hooper of Gloucester, and Coverdale of Exeter, were thrown into prison, whither old Latimer was also soon after sent. The zealous bishops and priests were encouraged in reviving the mass, though contrary to the present laws; and judge Hales, who had defended the queen's title with such constancy, lost all his merit by opposing these illegal practices; and being imprisoned, was treated with such severity, that he fell into a frenzy, and put an end to his own life. The men of Suffolk were brow-beaten, for presuming to plead the queen's promise of maintaining the reformed religion, when they enlisted in her service: one of whom was even set in the pillory, for recalling to her memory, in too peremptory a manner, the engagements into which she had entered upon that occasion. And though the queen, in a public declaration before the council, still promised to tolerate those who differed from her, people foresaw that this, like the former engagement, would prove but a feeble security against her religious prejudices.

Though Cranmer had employed with success his good offices, in abating the prejudices which Henry VIII. had entertained against his daughter Mary, yet the activity with which he had supported her mother's divorce, and carried on the reformation, had rendered him the object of her hatred; and though Gardiner had been no less forward in promoting and de-

sending the divorce, he had sufficiently atoned for it, by his sufferings in defence of the Romish religion. The primate had, therefore, little reason to expect favour during the present reign; and his indiscreet zeal soon involved him in persecution. A report prevailing, that Cranmer had promised to officiate in the Latin service, in order to pay his court to the queen, he published a piece, with a design to wipe off this aspersion; in which, among other things, he said, That as the devil was a liar from the beginning, he had stirred up his servants to persecute Christ and his true religion; and now endeavoured to restore the Latin satisfactory masses, a thing of his own invention, by falsely making use of Cranmer's name and authority; and that the mass is neither founded on the scriptures, nor on the practice of the primitive church; but discovers a plain contradiction to antiquity and the inspired writings, and is replete with many horrid blasphemies. On the publication of this inflammatory paper, Cranmer was cast into prison; and being tried for concurring with the lady Jane, and opposing the queen's accession, was sentenced to suffer death for high treason; but was reserved for a more cruel punishment.

The persecution of the reformers now evidently hanging over them, Peter Martyr desired leave to withdraw, when some zealous Papists moving for his commitment, Gardiner had the generosity, not only to plead that he had come over to England by an invitation from the government, but to furnish him with money for his

his journey : yet afterwards, the body of his wife, which had been interred at Oxford, was, by public order, dug up, and buried in a dunghill. About the same time, the bones of Fagius and Bucer, two foreign reformers, were committed to the flames at Cambridge. John a Lasco was first silenced, and then obliged to leave the kingdom, with his congregation ; and most of the foreign Protestants following him, the nation lost many useful hands in arts and manufactures. Many English Protestants also fled into foreign parts, and every thing bore a dismal aspect.

A parliament being summoned, the court was able to give such candidates the preference, as were ready to comply with the religion of the court ; and it soon appeared, that the majority of the commons were ready to promote all Mary's designs ; while the peers, being, from interest or expectation, attached to the court, little opposition was expected from them. On the opening of this parliament, the court shewed a contempt of the laws, by celebrating before the two houses, in the Latin tongue, a mass of the Holy Ghost, though it had been abolished by act of parliament ; when Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, refusing to kneel, was used ill, and violently pushed out of the house.

In this parliament, the marriage of Henry, with Catharine of Arragon, was ratified ; the divorce pronounced by Cranmer annulled ; the queen declared legitimate ; and all the statutes of king Edward, in relation to religion, were repealed.

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In a convocation which had been summoned at the same time with the parliament, there appeared to be also a majority of the court religion; the Romanists offered to dispute the points controverted between the two communions, and transubstantiation was the subject fixed upon. The Protestants pushed the dispute as far as they were permitted, by the clamour and noise of their antagonists, and imagined they had obtained the advantage, when they obliged them to confess that, according to their doctrine, Christ, in his last supper, had held himself in his hand, and had eaten and swallowed himself. However, the triumph was solely confined to their own party; the Romanists maintaining that they had the better of the day; that their adversaries were blind and obstinate heretics, and deserved the severest punishments for their perverseness. So pleased were they with their imagined superiority, that they soon after renewed the dispute at Oxford, where they were opposed by Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley.

There were three marriages, concerning which Mary is said to have deliberated, after her accession. Courtney, earl of Devonshire, was proposed to her, who being an Englishman nearly allied to the crown, was acceptable to the nation. Having an engaging person and address, he gained the queen's affections; and hints were dropped to him of her not being averse to him. But neglecting these overtures, he appeared to attach himself to the lady Elizabeth, whose youth and agreeable conversation

sation he preferred to all her sister's power and grandeur. This occasioned a great coldness between Mary and Devonshire, and made her break out into a declared animosity against Elizabeth, that knew no bounds.

Another party proposed to the queen was cardinal Pole ; for he had never taken priest's orders, and there appeared many reasons to induce her to make choice of him : but the cardinal being in the decline of life, and accustomed to study and retirement, was represented as unqualified for the bustle of a court, and the hurry of business. The queen, therefore, dropped all thoughts of him.

The queen then cast her eye towards the emperor's family, from which her mother was descended, and which had afforded her countenance and protection during her own distresses. Charles V. had no sooner heard of the death of Edward, and of the accession of his kinswoman Mary to the crown of England, than he resolved to endeavour to acquire that kingdom for his family. His son Philip was a widower, and eleven years younger than the queen ; yet he imagined that this objection would be overlooked, and there was no reason to despair of her having still a numerous issue. Charles immediately sent to inform Mary of his intentions. She being pleased with so powerful an alliance, and glad to unite herself more closely to her mother's family, to which she was always strongly attached, willingly embraced the proposal. Norfolk, Arundell, and Pager, advised her

her to consent, and Gardiner, who was both prime minister and chancellor, finding how Mary's inclinations lay, seconded these proposals. He at the same time represented, both to her and the emperor, the necessity of putting a stop to the persecution of the Protestants, till the completion of the marriage; which being once over, would give authority to the queen's measures, and afterwards enable her to proceed in the work: and observed, that it was first necessary to reconcile the English to the marriage, by rendering the conditions favourable to them, and such as would ensure their independency, and their enjoyment of their ancient laws and privileges.

Charles assented to these reasons, and strove to temper Mary's zeal, by representing the necessity of proceeding gradually in the great work of converting the nation. Mean while the negociation for the marriage proceeded apace: but Mary's intentions of espousing Philip becoming generally known to the nation, the commons were alarmed at hearing, that she was resolved to contract a foreign alliance, and therefore sent a committee to remonstrate against it in the strongest terms. Upon which she dissolved the parliament.

After the dissolution of this body, and that of the convocation, the queen, pushed forward by her zeal, forgot the moderate measures proposed to her; she caused the mass to be every where re-established, and marriage was declared to be incompatible with any spiritual office. Some writers have asserted, that at this time  
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three fourths of the clergy were deprived of their livings. A visitation was also appointed, in order to restore more perfectly the mass, and the ancient rites ; and, though the oath of supremacy, which had been established by the laws of Henry VIII. were still in force, the commissioners were enjoined to forbid its being taken by the clergy, on their receiving any benefice. The Protestants were filled with great discontent, by this violent and sudden change of religion ; and at the same time the Spanish match universally diffused the most gloomy apprehensions, with respect to the liberty and independence of the nation.

The council, in order to obviate all clamour, caused the articles of marriage to be drawn up in as favourable a manner as possible, with respect to the interest and security of the kingdom. It was declared, that though Philip should possess the title of king, the administration should be entirely in the hands of the queen ; that no foreigner should be capable of any office in England ; that the English laws, customs, and privileges, should be preserved inviolate ; that Philip should not carry the queen out of the nation, without her consent, nor any of her children, without the consent of the nobility ; that her jointure should consist of sixty thousand pounds a year ; that the male issue of this marriage should possess not only England, but Burgundy and the Netherlands ; and that if Don Carlos, the son of Philip, by his former marriage, should die, and his line be extinct, the issue of the queen,  
whether

whether male or female, should inherit Spain, Sicily, Milan, and all the rest of Philip's dominions.

But these articles, after their being signed and published, were far from giving satisfaction to the nation; it being universally believed, that the emperor would agree to any terms, in order to obtain the possession of England; and that his usual fraud and ambition might assure the nation, that he had no serious intention of observing such favourable conditions, and that England would become a province to Spain, which exercised through all its conquests an unrelenting cruelty: that the inquisition, a tribunal invented by that tyrannical nation, would, withal their other laws and institutions, be introduced into this nation: that multitudes would be the victims of that iniquitous tribunal, and the whole nation be reduced to the most abject slavery.

These complaints prepared the people for a rebellion; but the more prudent part of the nobility thinking, that while the evils of a Spanish alliance were only dreaded at a distance, matters were not yet fully prepared for a general revolt. Some, however, believing, that it would be easier to prevent than to redress grievances, resolved to oppose this marriage by force of arms. Sir Peter Carew proposing to raise Devonshire; and Sir Thomas Wyatt Kent; they prevailed on the duke of Suffolk to attempt raising the midland counties, by the hopes of recovering the crown for lady Jane. Carew's impatience or apprehensions

sions induced him to rise in arms before the day appointed; but he was soon suppressed by the earl of Bedford, and obliged to fly into France. Suffolk, on receiving this intelligence, suddenly left London, for fear of being arrested, with his brothers, lord Thomas, and lord Leonard Gray; and endeavoured to raise the people in the counties of Leicester and Warwick; but being closely pursued by the earl of Huntingdon, with three hundred horse, he was obliged to disperse his few followers; and being discovered in his place of concealment, was carried prisoner to London.

Wyat met, at first, with great success; for, on his publishing at Maidstone, in Kent, a manifesto against the queen's evil counsellors, and the Spanish match, the people began to flock to his standard. The duke of Norfolk was sent against him, with Sir Henry Jerne-gan, at the head of the guards, and some other troops, reinforced with five hundred Londoners, commanded by Bret. The duke came within sight of the rebels at Rochester, where they had fixed their head quarters. Here Sir George Harper pretended to desert from them; but having secretly gained Bret, that whole body, with the Londoners, deserted to Wyat, declaring, that they would not contribute to enslave their country. Upon which Norfolk, dreading the effects of this example, retreated back to London.

Wyat, now encouraged by this proof of the favourable dispositions of the people, and particularly of the Londoners, marched to South-

wark, where he demanded, that the queen should put the Tower into his hands, and that, to ensure the liberty of the nation, she should immediately marry an Englishman. On his finding the bridge secured against him, and the city overawed, he marched up to Kingston, where he passed the river with four thousand men, and then returned towards London, with the hopes of encouraging his partizans, who had engaged to declare for him: but he had wasted so much time at Southwark, and in his march from Kingston, that the critical season was lost: for though he entered Westminster without resistance, his followers finding that he was joined by no person of note, gradually deserted him; and he was seized by Sir Maurice Berkeley, near Temple-bar, on the 6th of February 1554; and was soon after condemned and executed. It being reported that, on his examination, he had accused the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire, of being his accomplices, he took care, on the scaffold before the people, to acquit them of having any concern in his rebellion. Four hundred persons are said to have suffered for this insurrection; and four hundred more were conducted before the queen, with ropes about their necks; when, falling on their knees, they received a pardon, and were dismissed.

For some time the lady Elizabeth had been treated by her sister with great severity; and her friends were, on every occasion, discountenanced: but while her virtues drew to her all the young nobility, and rendered her the favourite

vourite of the nation, the queen's malevolence daily discovered itself, and obliged the princess to retire into the country. This rebellion inspired Mary with the hopes of involving her sister in some appearance of guilt. She therefore sent for her under a strong guard; and having committed her to the Tower, ordered, that she should be strictly examined by the council: but she made so good a defence, that the queen found herself under the necessity of releasing her. A match was now proposed between Elizabeth and the duke of Savoy, in order to send her out of the kingdom; and she declining it, was committed to custody, under a strong guard, at Wodestoke; and the earl of Devonshire, though no less innocent, was confined in Fotheringay-castle.

This rebellion, however, proved more fatal to the lady Jane Gray and lord Guilford Dudley, her husband: the duke of Suffolk's guilt was laid to her charge; and though the malecontents appeared to have chiefly rested their hopes on the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire, Mary, void of all clemency and generosity, resolved to remove every one, from whom it was possible to apprehend the least danger. A message was therefore sent to the lady Jane, to desire that she would prepare for death. This she had long expected, and the innocence of her life, and her misfortunes, rendered it far from being unwelcome. The zeal of the queen, under the pretence of compassion for the soul of the prisoner, induced her to send divines, who harraressed her with

perpetual disputations, and she was even granted a reprieve for three days, in hopes that, during that time, she would be persuaded to pay, by a timely conversion, some regard to her eternal welfare. In these melancholy circumstances the lady Jane had the presence of mind not only to vindicate her religion, but to write a letter to her sister in Greek; in which, besides sending her a copy of the scriptures in that language, she exhorted her to maintain a like steady perseverance in every change of fortune. Lord Guilford, her husband, had obtained leave to take his last farewell of her; and on the day of his and her execution, desired permission to see her before he was conveyed to the scaffold; but she refused his consent, telling the messenger, that the tenderness of their parting would overcome their fortitude, and too much unbend their minds from that constancy, which their approaching end required: their separation, she observed, would be only for a moment, and they would soon rejoin each other, in a place where their affections would be for ever united, and where misfortunes, disappointments, and death, could no longer disturb their everlasting felicity.

The lady Jane and lord Guilford Dudley, were intended to have been executed together on the same scaffold; but the council, afraid of exciting the compassion of the people for their youth, beauty, and innocence, changed their orders, and gave directions, that she should lose her head within the walls of the Tower.

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She beheld her husband through the window, as he was led to his execution; and having given him some token of remembrance, waited with tranquility till her appointed hour, when she should suffer the same fate. She even saw his headless body carried back in a cart, and found herself more confirmed by the reports she had heard of the constancy of his end, by the sight of so tender and melancholy a spectacle. She herself, within two hours after his execution, suffered the same fate. Sir John Gage, constable of the Tower, on his leading her to the scaffold, desired her to bestow on him some small present, which he might keep as a perpetual memorial of her: she gave him her table-book, in which she had just written three sentences, on seeing the dead body of her husband: one in Greek, another in Latin, and a third in English. The purport of which was, that human justice was against his body, but divine mercy would be favourable to his soul: that if her fault deserved punishment, her youth, at least, and her imprudence, were worthy of excuse; and that she hoped, God and posterity would shew her favour.

On the scaffold she addressed the by-standers, and observed, that innocence was no excuse for facts that tended to the prejudice of the public: that her offence was her not rejecting the crown with sufficient constancy: that her error proceeded less from ambition than reverence to her parents, whom she had been taught to respect and obey: that she willingly received death, as the only satisfaction she

could now make to the injured state; and tho' her infringement of the laws had been constrained, she would shew, by her voluntary submission to their sentence, that she was desirous of atoning for that disobedience, into which she had been betrayed by too much filial piety; and that she had justly deserved this punishment for being made the instrument, though unwillingly, of the ambition of others. Having spent a short time in devotion, she caused herself to be disrobed by her women, who took off her gown, and the ornaments of her head and neck, and then covered her eyes with her handkerchief. Thus prepared, she, with a steady serene countenance, laid her head on the block, and encouraged the executioner, who hesitated to do his office, which he at length performed. Her fate drew tears from the eyes of all the spectators, and even of those who were most zealously attached to queen Mary.

Soon after, the duke of Suffolk was tried, condemned, and executed; and would have been more pitied, had not his daughter's untimely fate been caused by his temerity. Lord Thomas Gray lost his life for the same crime. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was tried in Guildhall; but no satisfactory evidence appearing against him, and he making an admirable defence, the jury gave a verdict in his favour. Mary was so enraged at this disappointment, that instead of releasing him, she caused him to be sent back to the Tower, and for some time kept in close confinement. The jury  
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were also summoned before the council, who sent them all to prison, and afterwards fined them, some of them a thousand pounds, and others two thousand each. This illegal violence proved fatal to those who were afterwards tried; and, among others, to Sir John Throgmorton, Sir Nicholas's brother, who was condemned on no better evidence than that which had been before rejected. Mary filled the Tower, and all the prisons, with the nobility and gentry, whom the favour of the people, rather than any appearance of guilt, made the objects of her suspicion. Then finding that she was universally hated, she resolved to render the people incapable of resistance, by ordering general musters, and directing her commissioners to seize their arms, and lay them up in the castles and forts.

The government having, however, received an increase of authority, by the suppression of Wyatt's rebellion, a new parliament was summoned, and the emperor having borrowed four hundred thousand crowns, sent over that sum to be distributed in bribes and pensions among the members. Gardiner, the chancellor, opened the session by a speech, in which he asserted the queen's hereditary title to the crown; and her right to chuse a husband for herself: adding, that in order to obviate the inconveniences that might arise from different pretenders, it was necessary to invest the queen by law, with a power of appointing her successor.

The parliament, however, knowing her hatred to the lady Elizabeth, her attachment to  
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the house of Austria, and her extreme bigotry, which would lead her to sacrifice the national interest, and every other sacred obligation, in order to re-establish the Popish religion, foresaw, that if she was invested with such a power, she would make a will in her husband's favour, and by that means, render England a province to Spain; they therefore determined to keep at a distance from the precipice that lay before them, and refused to pass any such law. They, however, could not avoid ratifying the articles of marriage, which were drawn very favourable for England. They would not even make it treason to imagine or attempt the death of the queen's husband; and a bill introduced for that purpose, was, after the first reading, laid aside; and, in order to cut off at once, all Philip's hopes of possessing any authority in England, they passed a law, in which it was declared, that Mary, as their only queen, should solely enjoy the crown and sovereignty of her realm, with all the rights, pre-eminences and dignities belonging to it, in as large and ample a manner, after her marriage, as before it, without the prince of Spain acquiring any title or claim, either as tenant by courtesy of the realm, or any other means.

As Don Philip's arrival was now daily expected, Mary's thoughts were wholly employed about receiving him. Tho' she had lived many years in a private manner, without any prospect of having a husband, she had such an affection for her young consort, whom she had never

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ver seen, that she waited with the greatest impatience for the completion of the marriage; and every obstacle filled her with anxiety and discontent. She complained of Philip's delay, and could not conceal her vexation, that though she brought him a kingdom for her dowry, he treated her with such neglect, that he had never yet favoured her with a single letter. This treatment only served to encrease her fondness; and when she found that her subjects had entertained the greatest aversion to this event, she made the whole English nation the object of her resentment. A squadron, commanded by the lord Effingham, had been fitted out, to convoy Philip from Spain; but the admiral informing her, that the seamen were so exasperated against the match, that it was not safe to entrust Philip in their hands, she gave orders to dismiss them. Then dreading, lest the French fleet, being masters of the sea, might intercept her husband, every rumour of danger, and every blast of wind, threw her into a pannic. Her health, and even her understanding, visibly suffered from her extreme impatience: this filled her with new apprehensions, lest her person, impaired by time, and disfigured by sickness, should prove disagreeable to her future consort. Her glass discovering her decay of beauty, she at length began to dread his arrival, for fear his dislike should put an end to all her hopes. At last, the moment so impatiently expected, arrived; and on the 19<sup>th</sup> of July, 1554, she received the news of Philip's arrival at Southampton;

ampton; on which she went to Winchester to meet him, and a few days after they were married there, and proclaimed king and queen of England, France, Naples, and Jerusalem, with the addition of many other high sounding titles.

Philip having made a pompous entry into London, where he displayed his wealth with great ostentation, she conducted him to Windsor, the palace in which they afterwards resided: but his behaviour was ill calculated to remove the prejudices of the English. He was reserved, and difficult of access; took no notice of the salutes, even of the most considerable noblemen; and was so entrenched in form and ceremony, as to be, in a manner, inaccessible. This, however, rendered him the more acceptable to the queen, who desired that he should have no other company but herself, and was impatient when she met with any interruption to her fondness. She was vexed at the shortest absence; and, on his treating any other woman with civility, was unable to hide her jealousy.

The queen soon perceived that, as ambition was Philip's ruling passion, the only method of securing his affections, was to render him master of England; and the interest and liberty of her people appeared of little consequence, when compared with this favourite point. She summoned a new parliament, and wrote circular letters, directing a proper choice of members; and the zeal of the Catholics, with the influence of Spanish gold, procured her a house  
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of commons, which was, in a great measure, to her satisfaction. Cardinal Pole now arrived in England with legantine power from the pope, and invited the parliament to reconcile themselves and the kingdom to the apostolic see; and both houses voted an address to Philip and Mary, in which they acknowledged, that they had been guilty of a most horrid defection from the true church, declared their resolution to repeal all the laws enacted against it, and besought her majesty to intercede with the holy father for the absolution and forgiveness of her penitent subjects. This request was easily granted; and the legate, in the name of his holiness, gave the parliament and kingdom absolution. But it is remarkable, that the two houses were not brought to make these concessions in favour of the church of Rome, till they had received repeated assurances from the pope as well as the queen, that there should be no enquiry made into the plunder of the ecclesiastics, and that the abbey and church lands should remain in the hands of the present possessors.

The members of the two houses having thus secured their own possessions, revived the old sanguinary laws against heretics, and made it treason to imagine or attempt the death of Philip, during his marriage with the queen; but though the fond queen attempted to have the administration put into Philip's hands, and to get him declared presumptive heir of the crown, she failed in all her hopes, and could not procure the parliament's consent to his coronation.

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## 180 THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

Even all attempts to obtain subsidies from the commons, in order to support the emperor in his war with France, proved fruitless.

Philip, sensible of the aversion the English entertained against him, now endeavoured to obtain popularity, by procuring the release of several prisoners of distinction; among whom were lord Henry Dudley, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Sir Edmond Warner, and Sir George Harper; and by affording protection to the lady Elizabeth, from the spight and malice of her sister, and restoring her to liberty. The earl of Devonshire also reaped the advantage of recovering his liberty: but finding himself exposed to suspicion, desired to be allowed to travel, and soon after died in Padua; it being thought that he was poisoned by the Imperialists.

Mary's extreme desire of having issue, induced her to give credit to the slightest appearance of pregnancy; and she fancied, that when the legate was introduced to her, she felt the embryo stir in her womb. This motion was compared by her flatterers, to that of John the Baptist, who, at the salutation of the Virgin, leaped in his mother's belly. Dispatches were instantly sent to inform foreign courts of this event: orders were issued to give public thanks, on which great rejoicings were made, and the family of the young prince was already settled; for it was firmly believed that the child was to be a male: even Bonner, bishop of London, caused public prayers to be offered up, that heaven would please to render him beautiful, vigorous,

vigorous, and witty. The infant, however, proved only the beginning of a dropsy : yet, the belief of her pregnancy was kept up with all possible care, in order to support Philip's authority in the kingdom ; and the parliament passed a law, which, in case of the queen's demise, appointed him protector during the minority.

In this session, several members of the house of commons, dissatisfied with the measures they were unable to prevent, made a secession, to shew their disapprobation, and refused to attend the house any longer ; for which, after the dissolution of parliament, they were indicted in the court of king's bench, when six of them submitted to the mercy of the court, and paid their fines. The rest traversed ; but the queen died before the affair was brought to an issue.

A very important question was frequently debated before the queen and council, by cardinal Pole and Gardiner, whether the laws, lately revived against heretics, should be put in execution, or be only employed to restrain the people by terror ; and in these debates, the benevolent disposition of Pole, induced him to advise a toleration of those tenets, which he very sincerely blamed ; while the severe manners of Gardiner, inclined him to support, by persecution, that religion which his former conduct had shewn he regarded with great indifference. Gardiner's arguments being more agreeable to the cruel bigotry of Mary and Philip, were better received, and it was resolved to let loose the laws in all their rigour against the Protestants,

tants, and this unhappy kingdom was soon filled with scenes of horror.

Gardiner's plan was to begin with men of the most shining characters, whose example, either of recantation or punishment, would naturally have a great influence on the multitude. He first attacked Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's, distinguished for his virtue and his learning, and who, besides the temptations arising from the natural fear of a dreadful death, had a wife whom he tenderly loved, and ten children; yet, after his condemnation, he enjoyed such serenity, that the jailor, when the hour of his execution approached, waked him from a sound sleep. He had desired to see his wife before he died; but Gardiner, adding insult to cruelty, told him, that he was a priest, and could not possibly have a wife. He was committed to the flames in Smithfield.

Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, was tried at the same time with Rogers; but was sent to be executed at Gloucester. This was contrived to strike the greater terror into his flock; but to Hooper it was a source of consolation; for he rejoiced in giving testimony, by his death, to the doctrines he had preached among them. On his being tied to the stake, a stool, with the queen's pardon, was placed before him, which he might receive on his recantation: but he ordered it to be removed, and cheerfully prepared for the dreadful punishment to which he was sentenced, and which he suffered in its full severity; the faggots were green, and slow in kindling;

kindling; and the wind, which was violent, blew the flame of the reeds from his body. Thus all his lower parts were consumed before his vitals were attacked; and one of his hands dropped off, while he continued to beat his breast with the other. He was heard to pray, and exhort the people, till his tongue swelling with the scorching heat, stopped his utterance; and he expired, after having remained with inflexible constancy in the midst of torture, during three quarters of an hour.

The next victim was Saunders, who was burned at Coventry. He also rejected a pardon that was offered him; and embracing the stake, cried, "Welcome the cross of Christ. Welcome everlasting life." Doctor Taylor, vicar of Hadley, was also punished in that place, in the same manner, surrounded by his friends and parishioners. When tied to the stake, he repeated a psalm in English, on which one of his guards struck him on the mouth, and ordered him to speak Latin; and another struck him on the head with his halbert, which happily put an end to his torments.

Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, had been enflamed with such zeal for orthodoxy, that having been engaged in dispute with an Arian, he spit in his face, to shew his detestation against that heresy, and afterwards wrote a treatise, to justify this unmannerly expression of zeal. This Philpot was a Protestant; and now falling into the hands of people as zealous as himself, and more powerful, he was condemned to the flames, and suffered in Smithfield.

Gardiner, who had expected that the reformers would be struck with terror by a few examples, finding his mistake, and that the work daily multiplied upon him, devolved the invidious office on others, particularly on Bonner, a man of profligate manners, and of a brutal disposition, who appeared to rejoice in the torments he inflicted on the unhappy sufferers. He sometimes whipped the prisoners with his own hands till he was tired: he tore off the beard of a weaver, who refused to forsake his religion; and to give him a specimen of burning, held his hand in the flame of a candle, till the sinews and veins shrunk and burst.

It would be to little purpose to enumerate all the horrid cruelties practised in England, during the three years that these persecutions lasted. Human nature never appears so detestable and absurd, as when the mind, hurried on by a blind and impetuous zeal, throws aside all the obligations of humanity, and, for the sake of religious opinions, for which man is accountable to God alone, endeavours to convince the judgment, not by the strength of reason, but by the force of torture, and to enlighten the soul, by committing the body to the flames. However, a few instances more may be worth preserving, in order, if possible, to warn zealous bigots, of every denomination, to keep at the greatest distance from such odious and fruitless acts of inhuman barbarity.

Ridley, bishop of London, and Latimer, who had been bishop of Worchester, were celebrated for their learning and piety. These  
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died together at Oxford, in the same flames, and supported each other's constancy, by their mutual exhortations. Latimer was no sooner tied to the stake, than he called to his companion, "Be of good cheer, brother. We shall this day kindle such a torch in England, as, I trust in God, shall never be extinguished." The executioners were so merciful as to tie about these prelates bags of gun-powder, in order to put a speedy period to their tortures: Latimer, who was of great age, was immediately killed by the explosion; but Ridley continued for some time alive in the midst of the fire.

Cranmer had long been confined in prison, but the queen now determined to bring him to punishment. He was cited by the pope to stand his trial for heresy at Rome; and though it was well known that he was kept in close custody at Oxford, he was condemned as contumacious for not appearing. Bonner, bishop of London, and Thirleby, bishop of Ely, were sent to degrade him; and the former executed that melancholy ceremony with the utmost joy and exultation. The implacable spirit of Mary, not satisfied with the execution of the dreadful sentence to which he was also condemned, resolved to cover him with infamy. Persons were employed to attack him, not by disputation, but by flattery and insinuation; and by representing the dignities to which he was entitled, if he would merit them by his recantation. At length Cranmer being overcome by the love of life, and terrified with the

prospect of the tortures that awaited him, in an unguarded hour, agreed to subscribe the doctrines of the papal supremacy, and of the real presence. Yet the court, equally cruel and perfidious, resolved that this recantation should be of no avail, and sent orders, that he should be required publicly to acknowledge his errors in the church, before all the people, and then be immediately carried from thence to execution. Cranmer having repented of his weakness, surprized the audience, by making a contrary declaration. He observed, that he was well apprized of the obedience he owed to his sovereign and the laws, which extended no farther, than to submit patiently to their commands, and to bare whatever hardships they should impose upon him : but that a superior duty, which he owed to his Maker, obliged him on all occasions to speak truth, and not to relinquish it by a base denial of the holy doctrines the supreme Being had revealed to mankind : that there was one miscarriage, of which, above all others, he deeply repented ; the insincere declaration of faith to which he had the weakness to consent, and which had been extorted from him from the fear of death alone : that he seized this opportunity of atoning for it, by a sincere and open recantation ; and was willing to seal, with his blood, the doctrines which he firmly believed to be communicated from heaven : and that, as his hand had erred by signing a falsehood, it should first be punished. He was thence led to the stake, amidst the insults of the ignorant papists, and bore

bore their scorn as well as the torture of his punishment, with singular fortitude. The fire burning up at some distance from his body, he stretched out his right hand into the flame, and held it there unmoved, (except his once wiping his face with it) crying with a loud voice, "This is the hand that wrote it. This hand "has offended;" and often repeating, "this "unworthy right hand," till it was entirely consumed. Satisfied with that atonement, he then discovered a pleasing serenity of countenance; and when the fire attacked his body, seemed quite insensible of his outward sufferings, never stirring or crying out all the while, only keeping his eyes fixed towards heaven, and repeating more than once, "Lord Jesus "receive my spirit." He was a man of undoubted merit, possessed of learning and abilities, and adorned with candour, sincerity, and beneficence; and all the virtues fitted to render him useful and amiable in society.

One Hunter, an apprentice, of nineteen years of age, having been drawn by a priest into a dispute, in which he unwarily denied the real presence, was so sensible of his danger, that he immediately concealed himself; but Bonner seizing his father, threatened him with the greatest severities if he did not produce the young man, that he might be brought to his trial. Hunter hearing of the trouble to which his father was exposed, voluntarily delivered himself up to Bonner, and was condemned by that barbarous prelate to the flames.

One Haukes agreed with his friends, while he was conducted to the stake, that if he found the torture tolerable, he would make them a signal from amidst the flames. His zeal for the cause in which he suffered, and the ravishing prospect of his approaching happiness, so supported him, that he stretched out his arm, the signal agreed upon, and in that posture expired. Multitudes, encouraged by this example, and by many others of the like constancy, were ready to suffer, and even longed to obtain the martyrs crown.

Even the tender sex produced many examples of inflexible courage, in maintaining the sacred dictates of conscience, amidst all the fury of their persecutors. And in particular one execution was attended with circumstances, which even at that time excited astonishment. A woman in Guernsey being brought to the stake, near the time of her labour, was delivered in the midst of the flames. When one of the guards immediately snatched the infant from the fire, and attempted to save it; but a magistrate caused it to be thrown back, saying, he was resolved that nothing should survive which sprang from so obstinate and heretical a parent.

The persons thus condemned to the flames were, in general, not convicted of teaching or spreading opinions contrary to the established religion; but were seized merely on suspicion; and articles being offered them to subscribe, they were immediately, upon their refusal, condemned to the flames; and most of them were  
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thus burned for refusing to acknowledge the real presence, or, in other words, the doctrine of transubstantiation. As there are people of every religion possessed of all the gentle sensations of humanity, these instances of cruelty excited horror among the Romans themselves; and the constancy of the martyrs became an object of admiration. They were shocked to see persons of probity, honour, and piety, suffering severer punishments than were inflicted on the greatest ruffians. It was impossible to extirminate the whole Protestant party; and nothing could appear more unjust and cruel, than thus to consume in flames the most conscientious and courageous Protestants; while hypocrites and cowards were allowed to escape. Hence each martyrdom was equivalent to a hundred sermons against the religion it was intended to support; and people returned from these horrid spectacles, filled with a violent, though secret, indignation against the persecutors, and a favourable opinion of the sanctity of a religion that could support its followers, and give them such courage in the midst of the devouring fire.

Impolitic as these proceedings were in every view, repeated orders were sent from the council to quicken the diligence of the magistrates in discovering heretics. These acts of violence rendered the Spanish government still more odious; which Philip perceiving, he endeavoured to remove the reproach from himself, by causing Alphonso, his confessor, to preach a sermon in favour of toleration, in the presence

presence of the whole court; in which he charged the bishops with those cruelties which had excited the indignation of the public; and challenged them to produce one passage in the scriptures, which authorized them to put people to death merely for matters of faith. The audience heard, with astonishment, a Spanish friar condemn persecution; and the bishops were so confounded, that they for some time suspended the effects of their inhuman rage; though afterwards the barbarous flame broke out with redoubled fury.

Soon after the court finding that Bonner, however cruel and shameless, would not bear alone the whole infamy, threw off the mask, and the queen's unrelenting temper appeared without controul. A bold step was taken towards introducing the Inquisition into England. As the bishops courts did not appear to be vested with sufficient power, a commission was appointed by the queen's authority, the more effectually to extirpate heresy; in which twenty-one persons were named, though any three were armed with the powers of the whole. These were to try all priests that did not preach the sacrament of the altar; all persons that did not hear mass, or attend their parish church; that would not go in procession, or take holy bread or holy water. Letters were also written to the lord North, and others, enjoining them to put to the torture such obstinate persons as would not confess, and to treat them at their discretion. Also secret spies and informers were employed, and in.



instructions given to the justices of peace, to call secretly before them one or two persons within their limits, and command them, by oath, to learn and search out such persons as ill-behaved themselves in church, or despised openly, by words, the king's or queen's proceedings; or went about to make any commotion, or tell any seditious tales or news. The informations were secretly given to the justices, who should call such accused persons before them, and examine them, without declaring by whom they were accused; and the same justices were to punish the offenders according to their discretion. The court likewise issued a proclamation against books of heresy, treason and sedition, in which it was declared, that whoever had any of these books, and did not immediately burn them, without reading them, or shewing them to any other person, should be considered as rebels, and be executed by martial law without delay.

That we might not return to the inhuman barbarities of this bloody reign, we have placed in one view the principal transactions against the Protestants during the space of three years. In which time it was computed, that two hundred and seventy-seven persons were brought to the stake, besides those who were punished by confiscations, fines and imprisonment. Among those who were burned alive were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay-gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, servants and labourers, fifty-five women, and four children. Astonishing as this cruelty

cruelty appears, the number of Protestant martyrs in other countries was much greater \*.

Paul IV. now filled the papal chair, and was the most haughty pontiff that, for several ages, had been raised to that dignity. A solemn embassy being sent to Rome to carry the submissions of England, and to beg, that it might be re-admitted into the bosom of the catholic church. Several points were, upon this occasion, discussed between the pope and the English ambassadors. Paul insisted, that the property and possessions of the church should be restored to the utmost farthing; and that if they would truly shew their filial piety, they must restore all the privileges and emoluments of the Romish church; and Peter's pence among the rest; alledging, that they could not expect that this apostle would open to them the gates of Paradise, while they detained from him his patrimony on earth. Though these remonstrances, on being transmitted to England, had little influence on the nation, they greatly affected the queen, who, in order to ease her conscience, resolved to restore all the church lands that were still in the possession of the crown. This measure being debated in council, it was objected by some members, that

\* Father Paul computes, that in the Netherlands alone, from the time when the edict of Charles V. was promulgated against the reformers, there had been fifty thousand persons hanged, beheaded, buried alive, or burned, on account of religion; and that the number in France was also very considerable.

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by the alienation of such a considerable part of the revenue, the dignity of the crown would fall to decay; to which the queen answered, that she preferred the salvation of her soul to ten such kingdoms as England.

The public discontent arising from these persecutions, which were become extremely odious to the nation, appeared in a new parliament, summoned to meet at Westminster on the 21st of October 1555. A bill was passed for restoring to the church the tenths, first-fruits, and all the impropriations that remained in the hands of the crown; but though none besides the queen herself was affected by this bill, it met with great opposition from the commons. An application being made for a subsidy during two years, and for two-fifteenths, the latter was refused by the house of commons, many of the members objecting, that while the crown was thus stripped of its revenues, it was in vain to bestow riches upon it. The parliament also rejected a bill for incapacitating such as were remiss in the prosecution of heresy from being justices of peace, and another for obliging the exiles to return under certain penalties. Upon which the queen, vexed at the intractable humour of the commons, dissolved the parliament.

Mary was the more exasperated at this spirit of opposition, from her being in an ill humour, on account of her husband's absence: for, tired of her importunate love and jealousy; and finding his authority in England extremely limited, he had several months be-

fore gone to join the emperor in Flanders. Philip's indifference and neglect, with the disappointment Mary had suffered from her imagined pregnancy, threw her into a deep melancholy; and she vented her spleen, by daily enforcing the persecution of the Protestants, and by expressing her rage against all her subjects, whose opposition to the wishes of Philip, she believed to be the cause of his alienating his affections from her, and affording her so little of his company. Her love increased by the ill return it met with, and she spent most of her time in solitude, where she vented her passion in tears, and in writing fond epistles to Philip, who seldom answered them; and when he did, would scarcely condescend to favour her with any expression of love or gratitude. The principal part of government in which she concerned herself, was extorting money from her people, in order to satisfy his demands. She levied a loan of sixty thousand pounds upon a thousand persons, of whose compliance she was most assured: but that sum not being sufficient, she exacted a general loan from all who possessed twenty pounds a year. This lying heavy on the gentry, many of them were obliged to dismiss their servants, to enable them to comply with her demands; and as these servants, from their having no means of subsistence, commonly turned thieves and robbers, the queen published a proclamation, to oblige their former masters to take them again into their service. She raised sixty thousand marks on seven thousand yeomen, and ex-  
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acted thirty-six thousand pounds from the merchants. To engage some Londoners to comply with her extortions, she prohibited, during four months, the exporting of any English cloth or kerseys to Flanders; which procured a good market for those who had already sent a quantity of cloth thither. Commerce was interrupted by her rapaciousness. The English company, settled at Antwerp, refusing to lend her forty thousand pounds, she dissembled her resentment, till they had bought and shipped great quantities of cloth for Antwerp-fair; and then laid an embargo on the ships, and obliged the merchants not only to lend her the forty thousand pounds she at first demanded, but to engage for the payment of twenty thousand more, and to submit to an arbitrary imposition of twenty shillings on each piece. Being informed some time after, that the Italian merchants had shipped above forty thousand pieces of cloth for the Levant, for which they were to pay the usual imposition of a crown a piece, she entered into an agreement with the merchant adventurers of London, and prohibited the foreigners from making any exportation; for which she received from the English merchants fifty thousand pounds, and four crowns on each piece of cloth they exported. She in vain attempted to borrow great sums abroad, but had so little credit, that though she offered the city of Antwerp 14 per cent. for thirty thousand pounds, she could not obtain it, till she obliged the city of London to be surety for her. Thus she employed the basest

expedients to raise money, while the nation was in profound peace; and she had no other visible occasion for it, but to supply the demands of Philip, who appeared entirely indifferent about every thing relating to her.

At the same time her husband was become master of the wealth of America, and of the richest and most extensive dominions in Europe, by the voluntary resignation of his father, the emperor Charles V. who being disgusted with the world, was resolved to seek that tranquility and happiness in a private retreat, which he had sought in vain, amidst the tumults of war, and the restless projects of ambition. On the 25th of October, 1555, he summoned the states of the Netherlands, and, seating himself, for the last time, on the throne, informed his subjects of the reasons of his resignation, absolved them from their oaths of allegiance; and after devolving his authority on Philip, told him, that his paternal tenderness made him weep, when he reflected on the burthen he laid upon him, and that the great and only duty of a prince, was to study the happiness of his people. He observed, that his vain schemes of extending his empire, had been the source of endless opposition and disappointment; that this had frustrated the sole end of government; and that the felicity of the nations committed to his care, was an object, which if steadily pursued, could alone convey a solid and lasting satisfaction.

The emperor, a few months after, resigned his other dominions to Philip, and sailing to Spain,



Spain, retired into the monastery of St. Just; which, being seated in a happy climate, and amidst the greatest beauties of nature, he had chosen for his retreat. He was, however, soon sensible of the ingratitude of Philip, his son, who was negligent in paying the small pension he had reserved for himself; and this gave him a sensible concern. He, however, pursued his resolution with inflexible constancy; and, in this retreat, even restrained his curiosity from enquiring into the transactions of the world he had abandoned. He employed his leisure in examining the controversies in divinity, which he had hitherto only considered in a political light; and in imitating the works of the most famous artists in mechanics; of which he had always been a great admirer and encourager. Having amused himself with the construction of clocks and watches, he thence remarked the impracticability of what had so much engaged his attention during his reign; and how impossible it was, that he who could never frame two machines that would go exactly alike, could ever be able to make all mankind agree in the same opinions. The emperor survived his retreat about two years.

Philip now preparing for a war with France, was desirous of embarking England in the quarrel; and though the queen was extremely averse to it, her extreme fondness for him made her exert her utmost endeavours to engage the nation to enter into his views. This was, however, openly opposed by cardinal Pole, and many other counsellors, who insisted on the

marriage articles, which expressly provided against it; represented the violence of the domestic factions in England, the disordered state of the revenue, and the tendency of such measures to reduce the kingdom to a total dependence on Spanish councils. Philip, in order to support his partizans, came to London, in 1557, and told the queen, that if he were not gratified in this request, he would never more set his foot in England. This declaration greatly heightened her zeal for promoting his interest, and conquering the inflexibility of her council, whom she threatened with the effects of her displeasure, without being able to induce them to declare war against France. At length, one Stafford and others, being detected in a design to surprize Scarborough, and a confession being extorted from them, that Henry, the French king, had encouraged them in that attempt, the queen's importunity prevailed, and it was resolved to make this act of hostility, with others of a like doubtful nature, the ground of the quarrel, and war was accordingly declared against France.

The queen not expecting any considerable supplies from parliament, exerted herself in continuing to levy money in the same arbitrary and violent manner she had before practised; and having equipped a fleet which she could not victual, on account of the dearth of provisions, she seized all the corn she could find in Suffolk and Norfolk, without paying the owners; and then, by means of pressing, obtained an army of ten thousand men, which  
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the sent into the Netherlands, under the command of the earl of Pembroke. In the mean time, to prevent any disturbance at home, many of the most considerable gentry were imprisoned in the Tower, and the Spanish practice followed, of either conveying them thither in the dark, or hood-winked and muffled by those who guarded them.

Philip had assembled an army, which, on being joined by the English, amounted to above sixty thousand men, commanded by Philibert, duke of Savoy, one of the greatest generals of the age; and the French army, under the command of the constable Montmorency, did not exceed half the number. The duke of Savoy suddenly invested St. Quintin, which, being weak and ill provided with a garrison, he expected to become master of it in a few days. But admiral Coligny, the governor of the province, threw himself into the town, with some troops, and by his exhortations and example, animated them to make a vigorous defence. He then dispatched a messenger to his uncle, the constable, desiring a supply of men; on which he approached the place with his whole army, in order to facilitate the entrance of these succours; but the duke of Savoy attacked the reinforcement with such success, that not above five hundred got into the place; and then attacking the French army, entirely routed them, four thousand men being slain, and the rest dispersed. In this battle, many of the chief nobility of France were either slain or taken prisoners: among the latter

ter was Montmorency himself, who fought with great bravery, till being surrounded by his enemies, he fell into their hands.

The loss of this battle threw the whole kingdom into the utmost consternation; and had the Spaniards immediately marched to Paris, it must have fallen into their hands. But Philip, being of a cautious disposition, determined first to take St. Quintin, in order to secure a communication with his own dominions; and the brave Coligny prolonging the siege seventeen days, the French in that time recovered from their panic, and put themselves in a posture of defence; on which Philip, after taking Ham and Capelet, finding the season too far advanced to make any other attempt, retired into winter quarters.

The vigilant and active duke of Guise, who had been recalled with his army from Italy, now attempted, in the depth of winter, an enterprize which France, in her greatest prosperity, had always considered as impracticable. Calais was, in that age, esteemed an impregnable fortress; but Coligny having observed, that it was surrounded with marshes, which were impassable in winter, except over a dyke, guarded by the castles of St. Agatha and Newnambridge, and that the English had been lately accustomed, at the end of autumn, to dismiss a great part of the garrison, and to restore them in the spring. Having formed the design of making a sudden attack on Calais on this circumstance, he had caused the place to be secretly viewed by some engineers; and the plan  
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of the enterprize being found among his papers, served, notwithstanding his being made prisoner at the taking of St. Quintin, to suggest the project of that undertaking, and to direct the duke of Guise in conducting it.

Different bodies of troops having, on various pretences, marched towards the frontiers, were suddenly assembled, and formed an army, at the head of which Guise instantly marched towards Calais. Many French ships being, at the same time, ordered into the channel, under the pretence of cruizing on the English, formed a fleet, which attacked the fortifications by sea. Three thousand arquebusiers attacked St. Agatha; and, notwithstanding the garrison made a vigorous defence, soon obliged them to abandon that fortress, and retreat to Newnambridge, the siege of which was immediately undertaken; and at the same time, the fleet battered the Risbank, a fortress which guarded the entrance of the harbour. Lord Wentworth, the governor of Calais, who was a brave officer, finding that the greatest part of his weak garrison was inclosed in the castle of Newnambridge, and the Risbank, ordered them to capitulate, and to join him in Calais, which he was unable to defend without their assistance. The garrison of Newnambridge was so happy as to succeed; but that of the Risbank being unable to obtain such favourable conditions, was forced to surrender at discretion.

Calais being now blockaded both by sea and land, the duke of Guise, to prevent any accident, instantly attacked the place, and planted his

his batteries against the castle, where he made a large breach; then ordering Andelot, Coligny's brother, to drain the fosse, he commanded an assault, and made a lodgment in the castle. The following night, Wentworth attempted to recover this post; but having lost, in a furious attack, two hundred men, he found his garrison so weak, that he was forced to capitulate. Ham and Guisnes were taken soon after; and thus the duke of Guise, within eight days, during the depth of winter, obtained the possession of Calais, which cost Edward III. a siege of eleven months, though at the head of a numerous army, which had just before obtained the glorious victory of Cressy. The English had possessed this town above two hundred years; and as it afforded them an easy entrance into France, it was considered as the most important possession belonging to the crown of England. The joy of the French was extreme; while the English, thus bereaved of this valuable fortress, murmured loudly against the queen and her council, who after engaging, for the sake of foreign interests, in a fruitless war, had thus exposed the nation to disgrace; and the Scots, prompted by French councils, beginning to move on the borders, they were under the necessity of rather attending to their defence at home, than to the thoughts of foreign conquests.

Henry, king of France, now thought proper to celebrate the marriage of the dauphin and the young queen of Scotland, in order to unite that kingdom more closely with France; and



and a deputation was sent by the Scotch parliament to settle the terms of the contract, and to assist at the ceremony. These deputies obtained a solemn engagement from the queen and dauphin, that they would preserve the laws and privileges of Scotland, and procured a renewal of the French king's promise, that, in case of the queen's death, he would support the succession of the earl of Arran, who was now created duke of Chatelraut: yet the court of France perfidiously engaged the young queen secretly to sign three papers; by one of which, in case of her dying without issue, she gave Scotland to the king of France; by another, she mortgaged it to that king for a million of gold crowns, or any greater sum he should have expended for her support and maintenance; and by the third, she declared that whatever she had before been obliged, or should hereafter be obliged to sign, in relation to the succession of the crown, should be entirely invalid.

The marriage was solemnized at Paris, on the 24th of April, 1558, when the deputies swore allegiance, in the name of the states of Scotland, to the queen, and, during the continuance of the marriage, to the king-dauphin; for so he was then called. Every thing seemed to be carried on with great unanimity; but the deputies being ordered to deliver up the crown, with the other ensigns of royalty, answered, that they had no authority to do this, and soon after set out for Scotland. But before they embarked, four of the nine deputies died, within a few days of each other; and a violent suspicion

suspicion prevailed that they had been poisoned, on account of their refusal, by orders from the family of Guise. There was at this time no pestilential disorder, but the season was remarkably unhealthy throughout Europe.

Mary's repose and security seeming to be threatened by this close alliance between France and Scotland, it was found necessary to summon a parliament to obtain supplies for her exhausted treasure; on which she obtained a fifteenth, a subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight-pence on goods. The clergy likewise granted eight shillings in the pound, payable in equal proportions, within four years. The parliament also passed an act, confirming all the sales and grants of crown lands, already made by the queen, or that should be made during the seven ensuing years: but this act met with opposition in the house of commons.

During this whole reign, the English were under great apprehensions, with respect to the succession, and the life of the lady Elizabeth. The queen's violent hatred of that princess broke out on every occasion; and it required all Philip's prudence and authority to prevent its producing the most fatal effects. Elizabeth retired into the country; and being sensible that she was surrounded with spies, spent her time in reading and study, without intermeddling in business, or seeing much company. While she remained in this dull and inactive situation, the Swedish ambassador made her proposals of marriage, in the name of his master.

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She first asked him, whether the proposal had been made to the queen. The ambassador replied, that his master thought it his duty, as a gentleman, to pay his addressee to herself; and if he was so happy as to obtain her consent, he would next, as a king, apply to her sister. The princess would, however, allow him to proceed no farther. The affair, notwithstanding, coming to the knowledge of the queen, she thanked her for this instance of duty, and desired to know how she liked the Swedish proposal. Though Elizabeth was exposed to many mortifications and dangers, she resolved not to make use of the relief this match would have afforded her, and covered her refusal with expressing a fond attachment to a single life, which, she said, she infinitely preferred to any other. She likewise shewed great prudence in concealing her religious sentiments, and in eluding all the questions that were put to her on that delicate subject.

The queen was enabled, by means of the money granted by parliament, to fit out a fleet of a hundred and forty sail, with six thousand land forces on board; and being joined by thirty Flemish ships, was sent to make an attempt on the coast of Brittany: the fleet being commanded by the lord Clinton, and the land forces by the earls of Huntingdon and Rutland. But the French having got intelligence of the design, were prepared to receive them. Hence the English found Brest so well secured, as to render it imprudent to attack it; but having landed at Conquet, they plundered and

burned that town, and some of the neighbouring villages. They were then proceeding to the execution of greater designs, when they were attacked by Kerfimon, a gentleman of Brittany, at the head of some militia, who having routed them, drove them to their ships, with considerable loss. But this disgrace was amply revenged by a small squadron of ten English ships. The marshal de Thermes, governor of Calais, had made an eruption into Flanders, at the head of fourteen thousand men; and after forcing a passage over the river Aa, had taken Dunkirk, and Berg St. Winoc, after which he advanced as far as Newport. But count Egmont, with a body of superior forces, marching suddenly against him, he was obliged to retire; and was overtaken by the Spaniards near Gravelines, where finding a battle inevitable, he chose his ground with great skill. He fortified his left wing with all the precautions possible, and posted his right on the bank of the river Aa, which he reasonably imagined would be a sufficient defence. But the English ships, which were then accidentally on the coast, drawn by the noise of the firing, at this instant sailed up the river, and flanking the French, made such slaughter with their artillery, as to put them to flight, and the Spaniards gained a complete victory.

In the mean time, the principal army of France, commanded by the duke of Guise, and that of Spain, by the duke of Savoy, advanced towards each other, on the frontiers of Picardy; and as the two kings entered their  
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respective camps with the flower of their nobility, an important action was expected. But Philip, notwithstanding the superiority of his numbers, was willing to put a period to the war, by a treaty of peace, and negotiations were entered into for that purpose; when the two monarchs finding, that the terms offered were wide of each other, agreed to go into winter quarters, till they could come to a better agreement. Among other conditions, Henry demanded, that the kingdom of Navarre should be restored to its lawful owner; and Philip, that Calais and its territory should be restored to England: but while they were in the midst of these negotiations, they received the news of queen Mary's death; on which Philip, being no longer connected with England, was now less solicitous to obtain that capital article.

Mary had, for a long time, been in a declining state of health: on her mistaking her dropsy for a pregnancy, she had used an improper regimen, which daily encreased her disorder. Every reflection was now a subject of torment: the consciousness of having incurred the hatred of her subjects; the idea of Elizabeth's succeeding to the crown; her fears, that the Catholic religion would be exposed to danger; her dejection for the loss of Calais, with which she was deeply affected; and above all, her grief for the absence of her husband, who, she knew, intended soon to return to Spain, where he resolved to settle during the remainder of his life. These melancholy re-

flections preying upon her mind with the greatest violence, threw her into a complication of disorders, attended with a lingering fever, of which she died on the 17th of November 1558, in the forty-fourth year of her age, after a short, a cruel, and unhappy reign, of five years, four months, and eleven days. She was interred at Westminster, in the chapel of her grandfather Henry VII.

Mary's reign affords the most shocking period in the English history. That princess possessed few qualities that could entitle her to esteem. Her person was as little engaging as her behaviour and address. Every part of her character took a tincture from her ill temper, her bigotry, and narrow understanding. Malignity, tyranny, obstinacy, and cruelty, spread their influence on all the actions of her reign. She had scarcely any virtue but sincerity, which she appears to have maintained throughout her whole life, except when, in the beginning of her reign, she made some promises to the Protestants, of protecting them in the enjoyment of their religious privileges; promises which she certainly never intended to perform. Her love to her husband consisted of a weak fondness, to which she was ready to sacrifice every thing which she ought to have esteemed valuable; and was ready to give up to the man, who treated her with contempt and neglect, the wealth and independence of her kingdom. He governed her by his orders and his threats in every thing, except where her bigotry was concerned;



cerned; and there, in spight of his remonstrances, she gave vent to the malignity of her mind, by indulging an infernal cruelty. Yet after all she seems to have had a serious sense of religion; if that can be called by that sacred name which prompts the most infernal cruelty, and is destitute of all the social virtues; and there are still preserved a few devout pieces of her composition. Strype has preserved three of her meditations or prayers; and, at the desire of queen Catharine Parr, she began to translate Erasmus's paraphrase on St. John; but after she had made some progress in it, she left the rest to Dr. Mallet, her chaplain. Erasmus says, that she wrote very good Latin letters, but her French ones are poor performances. Strype has printed one from the Cotton library, in answer to a haughty mandate from her husband, on his resolving to marry the lady Elizabeth to the duke of Savoy, against the inclinations of the queen and that princess; in which he bids the former examine her conscience, whether her repugnance does not proceed from obstinacy; and insolently tells her, that if any parliament went contrary to his request, he should lay the fault on her. The mortified queen, in the most abject manner, and the most wretched stile, submitting entirely to his will, professes to be more bounden to him, than any other wife to a husband, notwithstanding his ill usage of her. Many other of her letters are preserved; and in Hayne's state papers, are two in Spanish to the emperor Charles V.

## MISCELLANEOUS INCIDENTS.

Hollingshed, who lived in the reign of queen Elizabeth, gives a curious account of the rude manner of living of the preceding generation. The houses were chiefly of watling, plaistered over with clay: the people slept on straw pallets, and had a round log under their head for a pillow; and almost all the furniture and utensils were of wood. There was scarcely a chimney to the houses, even in considerable towns: the fire was kindled by the wall, and the smoke sought its way out at the roof, door, or windows: and Erasmus imputes the frequent plagues in England to the dirt of the houses, and the slovenly habits of the people. The floors, says he, are commonly of clay, strewed with rushes, under which lies unmolested an ancient collection of beer, grease, fragments, bones, excrements of dogs and cats, and every thing that is nasty. Indeed, we may form an idea of the small progress of the arts, with respect to refinement and elegance, about this time, from a person of no less rank than the comptroller of Edward the Sixth's household, paying only thirty shillings a year, of our present money, for his house in Channel-row, London: yet labour and provisions, and consequently houses, were only about a third of the present price.

In this reign a law was passed, by which the number of horses, arms, and furniture was fixed, with which each person, according to the largeness of his fortune, should be provided

vided for the defence of the kingdom. For instance, a man of a thousand pounds a year was obliged to maintain, at his own expence, six horses for his demi-lances, three of which, at least, were to be furnished with sufficient harness, steel saddles, and proper weapons; and ten light horses, fit for light horsemen, with proper furniture and weapons: he was obliged to have forty corslets furnished; fifty almain revets, or, instead of them, forty coats of plate, corslets or brigandines furnished; forty pikes, thirty long bows, thirty sheafs of arrows, thirty steel caps or skulls, twenty black bills or halberts, twenty haquebuts, and twenty morions of fallets.

In queen Mary's reign, we find the first general law in relation to highways, which were appointed to be repaired by parish duty all over England.

The English having discovered a passage to Archangel, during the last reign, a beneficial trade had been established with Muscovy. Hence a solemn embassy was sent by the Czar to queen Mary, which seems to have been the first that had been sent by that empire to any European prince. The ambassadors were shipwrecked on the coast of Scotland; but being hospitably entertained in that kingdom, proceeded on their journey, and were received at London with great pomp and solemnity.

## C H A P. V.

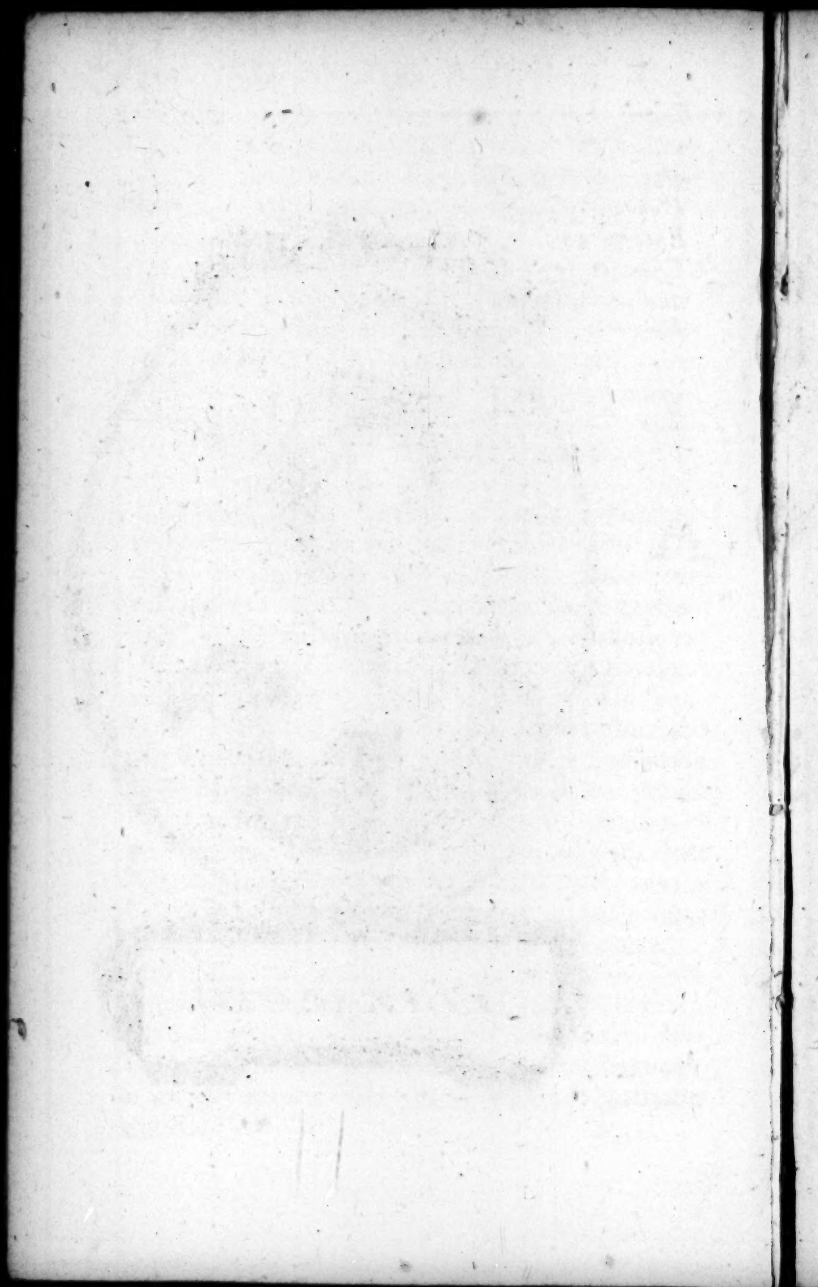
## E L I Z A B E T H.

*The Popularity of Elizabeth on her ascending the Throne. The Protestant Religion re-established. A Peace concluded with France. The Queen offended by Mary, Queen of Scots. The progress of the Reformation in Scotland. Mary arrives in Scotland. The Bigotry of the Scotch Reformers. The wise Government of Elizabeth. The civil Wars of France. The Queen of Scots marries the Earl of Darnley. The Murder of Rizzio. Darnley being murdered, the Queen marries Bothwell. Insurrections in Scotland. Mary's Imprisonment. She flies into England. The Duke of Norfolk's Conspiracy and Insurrections in the North. The Earl of Murray assassinated. Proceedings in Parliament. The civil Wars of France. The Affairs of the Netherlands. The new Conspiracy of the Duke of Norfolk; his Trial and Execution. The Affairs of Scotland: Those of France, with the massacre of Paris. The civil Wars of the Netherlands. The Affairs of Spain and Scotland. Conspiracies in England. Hostilities with Spain. Babington's Conspiracy. The Trial of the Queen of Scots:*



**ELIZABETH.**

*J. Collyer sc.*





*Scots : Her Execution and Character. The invincible Armada sent against England. Expedition against Portugal. The Murder of the Duke of Guise, and of Henry III. Naval Enterprizes. Tryone's Rebellion in Ireland. Essex sent against him : He returns to England, and is disgraced. His Insurrection, Trial and Execution. The Affairs of France. Mountjoy's Success in Ireland. The Defeat of the Spaniards and Irish. Tyrone's submission. The Queen's sickness, Death, and Character. Miscellaneous Incidents.*

**A**S Elizabeth had behaved with great prudence during her sister's reign ; and as every body was sensible of the danger to which she was every moment exposed ; compassion for her situation, and concern for her safety, had rendered her very dear to the nation. A few days before Mary's death, a parliament had been assembled, which being informed of that event by the chancellor, the two houses immediately resounded with " God save queen Elizabeth. Long and happily may she reign ;" and the people, less influenced by private views, expressed, at her proclamation, still more general and heart-felt joy.

When this princess heard of her sister's death, she was at Hatfield ; and a few days after proceeded to London through crowds of people, who vied with each other in giving her the strongest testimonies of their affection. On her entering the Tower, she reflected on the great difference

difference between her present situation, and that she had been in a few years before, when she was conducted thither as a prisoner, exposed to all the bigotted malice of her enemies; and falling on her knees, expressed her gratitude for the deliverance the Almighty had granted her from her bloody persecutors: a deliverance, she observed, no less miraculous than that which Daniel had received from the lion's den. With a laudable prudence and magnanimity, she instantly buried all offences in oblivion, and received, with affability, her most malevolent persecutors. Even Sir Harry Bennisfield, who had her in his custody, and had treated her with severity, never felt, during the course of her reign, any effects of her resentment. Yet she did not prostitute her kindness by behaving to all alike: for when the bishops came in a body to pay her their respects, she expressed her regard for them all, except for Bonner, from whom she turned as from a monster gorged with blood.

Elizabeth, after having spent a few days in regulating her domestic affairs, sent ambassadors to the different powers of Europe, to notify her sister's death, and her own accession to the throne. Among the rest, lord Cobham was sent to Philip, who was then in the Netherlands, to express her gratitude to that prince for the protection he had afforded her, and her desires to enjoy the continuance of his friendship. Philip, by whom this event had been foreseen, still hoped to obtain the dominion of  
England,

England, by espousing the sister of his late wife, and instantly dispatched orders to his ambassador at London, to make proposals of marriage to the queen, offering to procure a dispensation from Rome. Elizabeth observed, that the nation had, during her sister's reign, entertained an extreme aversion to the Spanish alliance, and that her own popularity principally arose from the prospect of being freed by her means from the danger of foreign subjection. She knew that her marriage with Philip would be similar to that of her father with Catharine of Arragon, and that her concluding it would be declaring herself illegitimate. But while these and other views prevented her entertaining the thoughts of a marriage with Philip, she gave him an obliging, though evasive, answer; which not removing his hopes of success, he sent to solicit a dispensation from the pope.

Elizabeth had also sent orders to Sir Edward Carne, her ambassador at Rome, to notify her accession to the sovereign pontiff. But Paul, at once, broke through all her cautious measures, telling the ambassador, that England was a fief of the holy see, and that Elizabeth was guilty of great temerity in assuming, without his consent, the title and authority of queen: that being illegitimate, she could not inherit that kingdom; but being willing to treat her with paternal indulgence, if she would renounce all pretensions to the crown, and submit entirely to his will, she should experience

perience all the lenity that was consistent with the dignity of the apostolic see. Elizabeth was astonished at receiving this answer; and recalling her ambassador, became more determined in pursuing the measures she had already secretly embraced.

## END OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.

Through an Error of the Press, a Line having been left out in Page 72 of the Sixth Volume of this History, the Leaf which contains that Page is now reprinted, and given with this Seventh Volume to supply the Deficiency.